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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Sofia Hosts International Economic Conference

AU2711073789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian
22 Nov 89 p 6

[Ivan Ivanov report: "Economic Consciousness Today"]

[Text] Sofia, 21 November— A 3-day international scientific conference on "Forming and Developing New Economic Consciousness in Socialist Society" began at the Boyana Residence. It is organized in accordance with the agreements of the March 1988 Ulaanbaatar meeting of secretaries on ideological issues of the fraternal communist and workers parties, when a Multilateral Scientific Council on forming a new consciousness in socialist society was created. The conference is attended by scientists from Vietnam, the GDR, Laos, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, the CSSR, and Hungary. The first session was opened by Stanka Shopova, head of the "Propaganda and Agitation" Department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The main report of the Bulgarian delegation, which is hosting the meeting, was read by Professor Stoyadin Savov, doctor of economic science and chairman of the Multilateral Council. The discussion continues.

The fact that despite the significant recent changes in some of the fraternal parties, those parties have not lost their readiness to cooperate and discuss the ways of resolving the most acute and topical issues and utilizing their experience leaves a strong impression. Regardless of differences in the theoretical positions and the specific practical approaches toward restructuring the socialist planned economy and particularly toward the issue of forming the new economic consciousness, the discussion is very specific, open, and direct.

Hungary's Nyers Addresses Conference

AU2811145089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
17 Nov 89 p 5

[Andras Szigethy report: "Nyers: 20 Years of Reform Were Not Enough—We Should Liberalize"]

[Text] "This conference is meeting at a historic time"—said Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] upon opening the international scientific conference held in the Congressional Center in Budapest on 16 November, entitled: "Attempts at liberalization: Hungarian economic policy and international experience." At this conference, organized by the Marketing Research Institute, economists from all over the world will join experts from Hungary to exchange views for 3 days.

In his introductory lecture in English, Rezso Nyers drew the attention of the participants to the fact that the so-called state-socialist order is disintegrating and changing in several Eastern European countries. Speaking about Hungarian reforms, Nyers said that the insufficient nature of these reforms has been spectacularly revealed in the last 15 years. It has been proven that even Hungary with a prestigious reformist past was unable to respond adequately to the new challenges of the world, just like the stubbornly conservative state-socialist regimes. Speaking about the economic reform of 1968, Nyers said that in reality the central regulations had been replaced by a similar, centrally guided system of economic management, albeit a more flexible and indirect one. There are many reasons behind the failure to consistently implement reform. Among these reasons, experts often mention political, ideological, international, and other obstacles. In addition, one should also notice the shortcoming that there is no real owner in the socialized segment of the economy, and the interest required for the use of capital does not function here, Rezso Nyers pointed out. Therefore, it is impossible to create a market economy without reforming ownership.

The Hungarian economy does not have the necessary resources to increase the level of freedom in the economy and to shift over to a new type of economic management. Such restructuring is inconceivable without foreign aid. Although the continuation of the process of liberalization upsets the financial balance in the short term, we should nevertheless advance only in this direction.

Speaking about Hungary's relations with CEMA, Rezso Nyers said that only a new CEMA policy that is an organic part of world economic openness could show a way out for us.

For some time, the Hungarian Government has been conducting expert-level consultations with our major CEMA partner, the Soviet Union, on aligning our bilateral cooperation with market conditions. The prospects are promising, Rezso Nyers pointed out.

The international scientific conference is continuing with section meetings.

Death of People's Assembly Deputy Anden Dollakaj

AU1012194489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania reports with deep sadness that Anden Dollakaj, deputy to the People's Assembly, died of a heart attack at 0200 on 10 December 1989.

Novelist Attacks Secret Police in Book

AU0812131889 Paris AFP in English 1010 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Yugoslavia Dec 8 (AFP)—A book containing harsh criticism of the Albanian secret police and its brutal methods, has been published for the first time in Tirana, the Albanian capital.

And even more surprisingly, the author has been warmly praised for writing it, according to reports here Friday.

Thikat (The Knives) was written by Neshat Tozaj a former interior ministry official. He denounces the brutality and absolute power of the Sigurimi, the secret police, and systematic violation of human rights.

The book has been lavishly praised in several Albanian literary magazines and the country's sole internationally reputed writer Ismail Kadare has expressed support for its author and contents.

Thikat tells the story of a plot that never was. It shows how, starting with a mentally unbalanced woman who slashed the tyres of foreign cars in Tirana, the Sigurimi built up a conspiracy involving "groups linked to foreign paymasters", falsifying evidence and violating basic human rights in the process, and ending in the arbitrary arrests of several innocent people.

Mr. Kadare, quoted in the magazine DRITA published in Tirana, said: "For a group of degenerate and sadistic employees bent on achieving their ends, the destruction of so many people's lives was carried out mercilessly and without scruples."

"A society which has the courage to denounce evil is on the march to progress," Mr. Kadare said.

He added: "The problem of democracy, respect for law and human rights," were matters of "great concern" in Albania.

Since the Sigurimi was founded, almost all its leaders have died violently: Koci Xoxe in 1948, Mehmet Shehu, Kadri Hasbiu and Fecor Shehu in 1981 and 1982. All were executed with the exception of Mehmet Shehu who, according to the official version, committed suicide.

Albania has remained totally isolated from the reforms sweeping the rest of the European communist bloc. The Stalinist government has strongly criticised what it calls "the restoration of capitalism" underway in the Soviet Union and East Europe.

People's Assembly To Convene 27 Dec

AU0912200589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly to convene the sixth session of the 11th legislature on 25 November]

[Text] In conformity with Article 77 of the Constitution, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decided:

To convene the People's Assembly for the sixth session of the 11th legislature on Wednesday, 27 December 1989, at 1700 [1600 GMT]. This decree becomes effective immediately.

Tirana 25 November 1989.

Decree No. 7343.

On behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

Ramiz Alia, chairman;

Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Scientific Agreement Signed With Turkey on 8 Dec

AU0912170289 Tirana ATA in English 0936 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—The proceedings of the second session of the Albanian-Turkish Joint Commission for Technical-Scientific Cooperation wound up on December 8 with the signing of the respective program for the year 1990-1991.

For the Albanian side the program was signed by the head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gadar Toto, and for the Turkish side by the director general of the Bilateral Economic Links at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Erdinc Erdun.

Also Attending the signing ceremony were the chairman of the Committee of Science and Technique, Ajet Ylli, and the head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bashkim Dino.

Present also was the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Teoman Surenkok.

The program foresees the technical-scientific cooperation between the two countries in the fields of geology, mining, construction, agriculture, etc.

On December 8, the chairman of the Committee of Science and Technique, Ajet Ylli, received the Turkish Government delegation of the technical-scientific cooperation, headed by the general director of the Bilateral Economic Links at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Erdinc Erdun. During the reception which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on the further extension of the technical-scientific cooperation between the two countries.

Upon its stay in our country the delegation paid visits to research-scientific institutions in the districts of Tirana, Durres and Berat.

Visit of Turkish Chamber of Commerce Delegation

AU0812140089 Tirana ATA in English 0904 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana, December 8 (ATA)—A delegation of the Chamber of Commerce and Stock Exchange Union of Turkey, headed by the president of this Union, Ali Cuskun, visited our country these days.

The Turkish delegation conducted talks with the delegation of the Chamber of Commerce of our country, headed by its chairman, Ligor Dhamo, during which views were exchanged on the further intensification of the cooperation between the two chambers. In conclusion the agreement of cooperation between the two chambers and the program of joint activities to be conducted during 1990 was signed.

During the stay in our country the Turkish delegation was received by the minister of light industry, Vito Kapo, who had a warm and friendly talk with the delegation.

Economic Performance Reported for 3-9 Dec

AU0912200789

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 3-9 December carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Durres District: The industrial plan for the 11-month period has been exceeded by 27.1 million leks. (1900 GMT 4 Dec 89)

Gjirokaster District: The export plan has been overfulfilled by 1.5 million leks. (1900 GMT 2 Dec)

Kukes District: The general industrial plan for the 11-month period has been exceeded by 6.1 million leks. (1900 GMT 3 Dec 89)

Librazhd District: The 11-month industrial production plan was exceeded by eight million leks. (1900 GMT 2 Dec)

Lushnje District: The industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by one million leks. (1900 GMT 5 Dec 89)

Permet District: The general industrial production has been overfulfilled by one percent. (1900 GMT 7 Dec 89)

Shkoder District: The overall industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 30 million leks. (1900 GMT 3 Dec 89)

Tirana District: The general industrial plan has been exceeded by 37 million leks. (1900 GMT 7 Dec 89)

Director on Work of Radio Tirana

AU2911151689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Thimi Nika, director of domestic radio: "Tirana Calling..."]

[Text] It is now 45 years since our people and foreign listeners began hearing the now so familiar and beloved signal, "Tirana calling." There is a great need for Tirana Radio, which Enver Hoxha called "that honored veteran of our propaganda," and the love shown for Radio Tirana is affecting.

Browsing through the radio archives from those stormy days of the epic National Liberation War, everybody is seized with particular emotion. Only a few days after the liberation of the capital on 24 November, Comrade Enver Hoxha ordered: "Start talking on the radio; tell the people that Radio Tirana will broadcast regularly from 27 to 28 November, and give the times and wavelengths. This will be a test for us. Prepare antiaircraft defenses, just in case, using a few machineguns."

This order was carried out at once, and, at 1200, the voice of a new announcer from the common people was heard in the squares and streets. From that day, the Albanian people had their own radio, from whose transmitters the voice of the party and of Marxist-Leninist truth sounded loud and clear.

Now 45 years have passed. Radio Tirana has grown alongside the general development of socialism, and has followed step by step and reflected with a deep sense of civil responsibility the tremendous revolutionary transformation of our society, now becoming a modern radio service in the true sense of the word. A few statistics show the heights to which the party has lifted Radio Tirana.

The radio inherited from the past a tradition of extreme backwardness, ancient technology with a very restricted listening range. At that time, only a few districts could hear the programs. Radio Tirana transmitted its domestic service on a one-kilowatt medium-wave station and its foreign service on a three-kilowatt short-wave station. In the absence of equipment, all programs were broadcast live from the studio.

Today, thanks to the party's constant care, Radio Tirana has powerful stations of about 400 kilowatts for medium-wave and short-wave domestic broadcasts and about 500 kilowatts for transmitting the second program during the summer months. The strength of the stations for the medium-wave and short-wave broadcasts of the foreign service is 1,100 kilowatts. Twenty-three studios equipped with up-to-date technology have been installed for the recording and transmission of the domestic and foreign services.

The domestic service now broadcasts 19 hours of programs a day, from 0500 to 2400, while the foreign service broadcasts for 63 hours in 20 foreign languages, alongside two programs for Albanians abroad.

All these statistics testify persuasively to a comprehensive service, marked by an inexorable increase in quantity and quality. A large number of journalists, editors, newsmen, engineers, technicians, producers, and musicians work tirelessly at Radio Tirana, with a militant spirit, ready to pass on to the masses the directives of the party, and to reflect as realistically, broadly, and fully as possible our daily life, and consistent struggle to build and defend socialism.

The degree of success and the quality of the programs depends greatly on the ideopolitical and cultural level and professional abilities of the radio's working people. The continual care shown for raising the professional awareness of working people at the radio, for spotting talent in radio broadcasting, and for supporting originality, innovation, and culture in the full sense of the word, as Comrade Ramiz Alia instructed us in his greeting on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Albanian Journalists Union, is therefore fully justified.

In involving themselves closely with their mission, which is directly linked with the formation and expression of public opinion, the working people of Radio Tirana struggle and labor to set themselves ever greater challenges. As a result, radio programs in general have a pronounced popular and militant character, and are outstanding for their topicality and reliability. Of course, not everything runs smoothly. Alongside our achievements, there are also shortcomings, and a struggle remains to eliminate these thoroughly by fighting for new standards of quality and opposing average and mediocre work. We struggle to achieve this goal through study and immersion in the directives of the party, getting to know as closely as possible the concerns of the masses, and exploring in depth every subject that is to be the theme of a program. Only then will the message transmitted to the listener be meaningful.

High quality is achieved in broadcasting by journalists with wide interests, who think first of all of sound content, but who do not in any sense underestimate the need for varied and appropriate format, good linguistic style, and a diversity of genres, in order to create that well-known synthesis of good content and the most attractive form. A lot remains to be done in order to achieve this.

The years pass, and everybody has seen and will continue to see Radio Tirana scaling new heights, always sought after and beloved by our working masses. This love also underlines the great duty and responsibility to the people and the party of those who work at Radio Tirana.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 2-8 Dec

[Tirana Radio]
AU0912171389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 2-8 December reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee first secretary, received Marxist-Leninist delegations attending the celebrations of the 45th liberation anniversary on 4 December. (1900 GMT 4 Dec 89)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, attended a commemorative conference on the 300th anniversary of the death of Albanian scholar, scientist, linguist, philosopher, and humanist Pjeter Bogdani. (1900 GMT 6 Dec 89) Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received Albanians from overseas communities on 4 December. (1900 GMT 4 Dec 89)

BCP To Comment on Economy at 11 Dec Plenum

AU0912145089 Sofia BTA in English
1339 GMT 9 Dec 89

["Bulgarian Economy: Stabilization or Radical Reform?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—The press is giving a platform to a wide-ranging debate on the economic reforms which the government should launch to take Bulgaria out of the crisis into which the command-and-administer system plunged the country. The stand of the Bulgarian Communist Party will be cleared up at the Central Committee Plenum due to start on Monday, December 11, and the specific measures will probably be tabled for consideration at the National Assembly session set for December 14. The press debate involving economists, experts and business executives actually paves the way for these two forums.

Two schools of thought have emerged in the debate so far. Their proponents agree that the Bulgarian economy is in a grave crisis but suggest different ways to cope with it.

According to one school of thought, a stabilization programme would delay political change and what is needed is, therefore, a radical economic reform not alongside, but in the wake of the political one.

"No delays," the radical reformists urge. Their position is formulated in the clearest terms in an article contributed by the economist Mr Ivan Kostov to RABOTNICHESKO DELO. In his view, the official doctrine espoused so far has proved incapable of creating an efficient organization of labour, to curb the runaway shortages and inflation, to enter the post-industrial stage, to pursue the progress of science and technology, to integrate the national economy into the world economy and to raise the quality of output.

Bulgaria faces a threat of losing her economic sovereignty. A radical reform would result in tremendous difficulties, eroded social security, layoffs and frequent retrainings and in unemployment for those who are not in a position to meet the new requirements. The existing "equality," from which only the nomenklatura was exempted, will have to be abandoned. Everybody's living standards will drop for several years. Equilibrium prices will eliminate scarcities but will step up inflation, they will improve market supplies but many goods will still be unaffordable. During the transitional period society will seek to guarantee justice in the sense of equal opportunities for education, health care and a minimum living standard. The only certain result of the daring surgery will be the defeat of the command-and-administer system, and it will be up to us what we will build, Mr Kostov writes.

Other experts, who are now in the majority, call for a smooth, carefully considered reform backed by retained production links so as "not be smothered to death by the shortages, the outdated investment policy and the rather modest labour enthusiasm," to quote from Mr Veselin Blagoev's article in VECHERNI NOVINI.

In the opinion of Mr Blagoev (a marketing expert and director of the Electroimpex Trade Company), the first thing to do is to stabilize market supplies. He writes that Bulgaria should seek a socialism with a partially regulated market economy, political pluralism, different forms of means of production ownership, and a social security system and a stringent anti-monopoly legislation modeled on the European Community countries. He believes, however, that the state leadership should take urgent action for constitutional amendments and a clear-cut separation of the functions and responsibilities of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the state, for a clear-cut differentiation between the rights and the responsibilities of the legislative branch (a permanently functioning National Assembly), the executive branch (the government), the president (after the State Council is abolished) and the judiciary, for an ongoing banking reform to revise the monetary policy principles and for a more adequate labour legislation.

Mr Blagoev suggests specific measures to cope with the crisis affecting agriculture and food supplies. He assigns top priority to the form of land management and suggests that a local referendum should offer voters a choice of three options: retaining the existing form of management, going back to the old cooperativized form, and leaseholding. Another highlight in his article is the suggested opening up of opportunities for free competition in farming and the food industry.

With respect to the other material production branches, he discusses them in terms of branches requiring full state control and financing, branches in which the state should keep a controlling interest, socially important productions which should be subsidized, companies which should develop high technologies, and commodity groups which meet vital requirements but whose availability cannot jeopardize social and economic stability.

Plenum Expels Zhivkov, 26 Others From CC

AU0812191389 Sofia BTA in English
1827 GMT 8 Dec 89

["Flash; Flash; Flash: Plenum of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—At a plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] today four Politburo members and two alternate Politburo members were relieved today and were "thanked for their work so far."

Ivan Panev, Yordan Yotov, Nacho Papazov, and Pencho Kubadinski were relieved as Politburo members, while Georgi Yordanov and Grigor Stoichkov as alternate Politburo members.

Todor Zhivkov and 26 other members were expelled from the Central Committee.

The decision of the CC of the BCP as from December 10, 1989 was canceled, which expressed thankfulness to Todor Zhivkov at his relieving as secretary general of the CC of the BCP.

Mladenov Address

AU0812211089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpt] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] was held today in the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the Party Building. Organizational matters were discussed.

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], read the requests by Comrades Ivan Panev and Yordan Yotov to be relieved as members of the Politburo, the request by Comrade Nacho Papazov to be relieved as member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, as well as the requests by Comrades Georgi Yordanov and Grigor Stoichkov to be relieved from candidate membership of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

Comrade Pencho Kubadinski explained his own arguments and orally requested the plenum to relieve him as member of the Politburo.

Comrade Petur Mladenov emphasized that the new dynamic political situation in the country and the requirements of the political course that the party adopted on 10 November imperatively demand, and will demand in the future, an in-depth, bold renewal now of the composition of the BCP cadres. This is not only natural, but also is absolutely essential to enable the BCP to be the prestigious vanguard political force needed to successfully coordinate all the social forces in Bulgaria in the name of restructuring, true socialism, and the prosperity of the people. Facing a task of such a scale and such fateful importance, every Communist must be ready to place the party's interests above everything else, including his own feelings and interests.

After explaining the reasons for the Politburo's proposals for the cadre changes in the BCP Central Committee, Comrade Petur Mladenov stated that in the present situation it is imperative to sharply increase the strictness shown toward the party cadres at all levels and to quickly resolve the pressing cadre problems.

It is only natural that this process should begin with the Central Committee. As is already well known, a start on this was made on 16 November this year. The guiding principle in carrying out the imperative changes is not subjective assessments of the qualities and qualifications of any particular official or other, but, first and foremost, the perceptions about them in the eyes of the Communists, the party organizations, and our society. This will continue in the future to be a obligatory criterion when determining the social and party position of everyone. It is precisely according to this criterion that the proposals submitted to the plenum for the removal of certain members and candidate members of the Central Committee and the inclusion of new members should be considered.

Special attention was paid to three cases.

First. On the proposal made for the removal of Todor Zhivkov from the Central Committee, it was pointed out that although he leaves behind him a legacy of a painful and grave period for the Communist Party, on 10 November the Central Committee was inclined to tender to the former leader an expression of gratitude, however restrained this was. However, the people and the party corrected this assessment in a categorical manner. The rank-and-file Communists and the citizens of our country have full grounds to raise the question of his great personal guilt and responsibility for the perverted distortions of the past and for the situation in which we now find ourselves. The Central Committee will not properly discharge its responsibility if it fails to comply with this assessment.

Second. Concerning the proposal made to include Aleksandur Lilov in the Central Committee, it was stressed that he is a man well known in the party and to the public, a man respected for his erudition and intellect, for his ability to think creatively, and for his political qualities. Attention was drawn to the fact that it was not by accident that Comrade Lilov was expelled from membership of the Politburo and the Central Committee, but the Communists and the public were given no serious explanations about this. His expulsion was connected with certain criticism that he leveled concerning certain distortions related to the personality cult in Bulgaria.

Third. Concerning the proposal to include Radenko Grigorov in the Central Committee, it was recalled that he was one of the first Central Committee members to dare to take an open stand at a plenum against certain distortions and voluntaristic theses and actions of the former secretary general. By a report and poll made of members of the Central Committee, he was stripped of his delegate's mandate to the 13th BCP Congress and removed from the leading organs of the party and the National Assembly.

It is a party and moral duty at the present time to clearly show that the party values people who care about its name and honor more than for their personal well-being.

The following comrades made speeches on the proposals for cadre changes made by the Politburo: Pencho Kubadinski, Zhelyazko Kolev, [name indistinct], Georgi Karaulanov, Nikolay Iribadzhakov, Vera Nacheva, and Trendafil Martinski. [passage omitted]

Text of Resolutions

AU0812191889 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—Following is the text of the resolutions of the plenum which the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee held here today:

The Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party:

"1. Grants the requests of Ivan Panev, Yordan Yotov, Nacho Papazov and Pencho Kubadinski to be relieved of their responsibilities as members of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, of Nacho Papazov as secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and of Georgi Yordanov and Grigor Stoichkov as alternate members of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, and thanks them for their work so far.

"Suggests that the National Assembly grant the requests of Georgi Yordanov and Grigor Stoichkov to be relieved of their duties as deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

"2. Strips the following people of their Central Committee membership: Aleksandur Fol, Andrey Bundzhulov, Atanas Maleev, Vasil Kolarov, Vasil Tsanov Vasilev, Venelin Kotsev, Vladimir Bonev, Georgi Milushev, Grigor Shopov, Demir Borachev, Drazha Vulcheva, Ivan Ganev, Ivan Popvasilev, Lyubomir Pavlov, Ognyan Doynov, Stanish Bonev, Stanka Shopova, Stoyan Ovcharov, Stoyan Stoimenov, Todor Zhivkov, Khristo Ruskov and Yaroslav Radev.

"3. Strips the following people of their Central Committee alternate membership: Angel Karlov, Dimitur Naydenov, Panka Babukova and Trendafil Martinski.

"4. Elects the following alternate members to full BCP Central Committee membership: Aleksandur Strezov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs and permanent representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the UN; Atanas Angelov Atanasov, first secretary of the BCP municipal committee in Smolyan; Dimitur Nenchev, first secretary of the BCP municipal committee in Pleven; Dimo Uzunov, secretary for agricultural affairs of the BCP regional committee in Varna; Ivan Ivanov, first secretary of the BCP municipal committee in Stara Zagora; Nenko Goranov, chief executive officer of the Machine Tools Work (ZMM) Company in Sofia; Petko Danev, first secretary of the BCP municipal committee in Varna; Petur Obretenov, secretary for economic affairs of the BCP regional committee in Razgrad; and Todor Kyurkchiev, head of the Organisational Department of the CC of the BCP.

"5. Coopts as members of the BCP Central Committee Aleksandur Lilov, director of the Institute for Modern Social Theories, and Radenko Grigorov, a public figure.

"6. Elects Aleksandur Lilov, director of the Institute of Modern Social Theories, as Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

"7. Elects Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, as member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee.

"8. Elects the following people as alternate members of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee: Ivan Ivanov, first secretary of the BCP municipal committee in Stara Zagora, and Petko Danev, first secretary of the BCP municipal committee in Varna.

"9. Elects Dimo Uzunov, secretary of the BCP regional committee in Varna, as secretary of the BCP central committee.

"10. Revokes the passage in the resolution of the November 10, 1989 Plenum concerning the gratitude expressed to Todor Zhivkov on relieving him of his responsibilities as secretary general of the BCP Central Committee."

Biographies of New Leaders

AU0912144189 Sofia BTA in English
1306 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Following are the biographies of the new Politburo members and alternate members and secretaries of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] elected yesterday:

Aleksandur Vasilev Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, was born in the village of Granichak near Vidin on August 31, 1933. He comes from a poor peasant family.

Holder of a university degree in Bulgarian language and literature, Ph.D., professor and correspondent member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

He joined the Workers Youth Union in 1947 and the BCP in May 1954. An activist of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL), 1951-1963. Secretary of the CC of the DYCL since 1963. Did postgraduate work in theory of literature and art at the Academy of Social Sciences with the CC of the CPSU. After that worked as deputy head of the Propaganda Department and head of the Arts and Culture Department of the CC of the BCP.

Elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP at the Tenth BCP Congress (1971) and promoted to full Central Committee membership and elected secretary of the CC of the BCP at the July 1972 plenum of the CC of the BCP. Member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP from July 1974 to the September 28, 1983, Central Committee Plenum at which he was relieved of his responsibilities as Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP. Director of the Institute of Modern Social Theories since October 1983.

National representative (member of parliament) in the Fourth, the Sixth, the Seventh and the Eighth National Assembly and member of the State Council.

Belcho Antonov Belchev, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, was born in the village of Krustientsi near Gabrovo on November 5, 1932. He holds a university degree in economics.

He joined the BCP in 1964. He worked as a finance inspector and a national economy financing inspector at various county people's councils. In 1964 he became a research associate at the Research Institute of Finance and Credit with the Ministry of Finance. In 1967-1976 he was subsequently deputy head of the Budget Department, deputy minister of finance, deputy chairman of the State Planning

Committee and first deputy minister of finance. Ambassador of Bulgaria to Yugoslavia since October 1987. Minister of finance since November 17, 1989.

Elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP at the Eleventh BCP Congress and promoted to full Central Committee membership at the December 1977 Plenum of the CC of the BCP.

National representative (member of parliament) in the Seventh, the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly.

Petko Danev Petkov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, was born to a peasant family in the village of Dobrotich, region of Varna, on March 2, 1942. He holds a university degree in radio engineering.

He joined the DYCL in 1956 and the BCP in 1973. He graduated from the Higher Naval School in Varna. He worked at the staff of the 1st Coast Artillery Regiment in Varna. For six years after that he was a radio mechanic for the Navigation Maritime Bulgare Shipping Company. Designer at the Resprom Plant in Varna. Deputy manager and manager of the Radio Navigation Equipment Works in Varna. Managing director of the Cherno More Research and Industry Combined Works, 1980-1987.

First secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee in Varna since September 1987. Elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP at the Thirteenth BCP Congress.

Ivan Minchev Ivanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, was born to the family of progressive white-collar workers in the town of Muglizh, region of Khaskovo, on November 13, 1942. He holds a university degree in chemical engineering.

He joined the DYCL in 1958 and the BCP in 1968.

He graduated in inorganic substances technology from the Higher Institute of Chemical Engineering in Sofia. Worked at the Chemical Economic Combined Works in Stara Zagora, 1967-1985, as shift foreman, shop steward, technologist, deputy manager and general manager. Secretary for industrial and economic policy of the BCP County Committee in Stara Zagora since 1985. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Stara Zagora County People's Council, 1986-1987.

First secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee in Stara Zagora since November 1987.

Elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP at the 13th BCP Congress. National representative (member of parliament) in the Ninth National Assembly.

Dimo Dobrev Uzunov, secretary of the CC of the BCP, was born to a peasant family in the village of Posev near Silistra on April 22, 1941. He holds a university degree in agronomy. He has graduated from the Academy of Social Sciences at the CC of the CPSU in Moscow.

He joined the DYCL in 1953 and the BCP in 1966.

He has worked as a district agronomist. Secretary of the BCP Town Committee in Tervel for seven years. First secretary of the BCP Town Committee in Tervel since 1977. Secretary of the BCP County Committee in Tolbukhin since January 1987. Secretary for agricultural affairs of the BCP Regional Committee in Varna since November 1988.

Elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP at the 13th BCP Congress.

Grigorov New Sofia Party Chief; Danev Promoted

AU0912202089 Sofia BTA in English
1811 GMT 9 Dec 89

["Further Personnel Changes in BCP"—BCP headline]

[Text] Varna, December 9 (BTA)—Mr Petko Danev, first secretary of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Municipal Committee in Varna and alternate member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, was elected first secretary of the Varna BCP Regional Committee at a special plenum of the Regional Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party here today. The plenum was attended by Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers. The plenum relieved Mr Dimo Uzunov of his responsibilities as secretary of the BCP Regional Committee due to his election as secretary of the CC of the BCP.

X X X

Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Mr Grigor Grigorov, secretary of the BCP City Committee in Sofia, was elected first secretary of the Sofia City Committee at a plenum of the committee which relieved Mr Ivan Panev of his duties as first secretary and member of the Bureau of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP.

Zhivkov Rejected by Sofia Constituents

AU0812142889 Sofia BTA in English
1317 GMT 8 Dec 89

["Vote of Nonconfidence for M.P. Todor Zhivkov"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—Citizens from the capital city municipality "Vuzrazhdane" express nonconfidence in their M.P. Todor Zhivkov and demand for his diselection.

Running an open letter by 70 citizens of this municipality to M.P. Todor Zhivkov, TRUD tells today that Communists and non-party people from this region of the capital are discussing the negligence in the fulfillment of his duties as an M.P.

The open letter reads that Todor Zhivkov has never, during his visits to this part of the city, deflected from his itinerary, to be able to see, only a few miles away from the "cordial" procession, the misery of his electors.

It is indicated that far before November 10, this year, the majority of the Bulgarian people has refused confidence to Todor Zhivkov.

Zhivkov Sought 'To Intimidate' Intelligentsia

AU0612131489 Sofia BTA in English
1220 GMT 6 Dec 89

["Intelligentsia and Social Progress"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—The intellectuals were the first to rise against the command-administrative system in Bulgaria, writes Prof. Dr. Vasil Ivanov in his article published in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The author says that the time of monocracy domination and its command-administrative system has caused serious damage to the Bulgarian intelligentsia. The paradox of history is not only tragic, it has a comic touch in it as well. A narrow-minded and half-educated man tried to command all the intelligentsia, he pretended to be a great and infallible leader and published more books (written by others) than he had ever read. His offspring were proclaimed to be of genius, too. Ironically, at the very last moment of his rule Todor Zhivkov appointed his son leader of culture. This outrage over the Bulgarian intellectuals was decisively wiped out by the new leadership of the country. But bitter feelings and its traces have remained, writes Prof. Ivanov.

The author gives examples of Todor Zhivkov's demagogy, who flirted in words with the intelligentsia, but actually wanted to intimidate and to crush it, to shut its mouth with acts of terror and repression. The article reminds some shameful cases of the last few years when four professors of the University of Sofia stood up against Zhivkov's disastrous dictatorial policy and he ordered that they be expelled from the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the University within 24 hours. Meanwhile the University was occupied by Security Service Forces. When a honest journalist (Georgi Tambouev of RABOTNICHESKO DELO) exposed power-vested corruption, Zhivkov ordered that he be dismissed from the editorial staff, slandered and disgraced before the whole people. Whenever prominent representatives of the intelligentsia dared to express an opinion of their own, he tried to incite the BCP and the public against them. Thus the then-secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, Stoyan Mikhaylov, and the eminent painter Svetlin Rusev were punished and humiliated. Again by Zhivkov's order whole research institutes were unlawfully closed and a lot of highly qualified people were chucked out. Many intellectuals who declared themselves to be for the ecological protection of the city of Ruse, Mount Rila and the Mesta River were expelled from the BCP and got sacked by order of Zhivkov and through the brutal actions of his faithful mates in the Politburo of the CC of the BCP. During the European Ecoforum many of them were beaten in the very center of Sofia to the shame of the whole nation.

The author underlines that under the new conditions of true restructuring in the country it is necessary to rapidly do away with a number of tenets and prejudices against the intelligentsia. It is a long time since the intellectuals in Bulgaria ceased to be a minor thin social stratum and have turned into a large social group which records the greatest rate of growth and occupies an important place in all spheres of society, Prof. Ivanov writes.

In 1946 the intellectuals were 7 per cent of the population of the country and now they account for 26 per cent. In 1988 the people who did highly qualified, mainly creative and brain work were 15-16 per cent of all employed. The total number of specialists is 733 thousand people, including 166 thousand engineers, 175 thousand economists, 23 thousand specialists in agriculture, 18 thousand research workers, 163 thousand lecturers and teachers, 30 thousand physicians, dentists and pharmaceutists, 32 thousand artists and cultural workers, 4 thousand jurists, etc.

Prof. Ivanov analyses the complicated problem of the relationship between intellectuals and workers, intellectuals and state authority. His position is that both intellectuals and workers have been oppressed and robbed by the old system and now it is time for them to unite. The author underlines that representatives of the intelligentsia should take part in the government in one form or another, but that not all of them are eligible for it. There are a number of examples which show that very talented scientists, writers, philosophers, jurists, etc., having entered the sphere of government, lost their qualities and were lost as creators and personalities.

'Silent Procession' in Sofia Noted

AU1112105989

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its regular newscast at 1000 GMT on 11 December carries an announcement saying that according to "Bozhidar Abrashev, chairman of the initiative committee, the Sofia Radio Horizont Program was the first mass medium to be informed about a Sofia citzens action [words indistinct]. Its first rally took place at the 9 September Square today." This announcement is followed by the voice of a reporter who says that she has just returned from the "procession of silence," and comments on the concept of silence, which can have a double meaning, either of agreement, or disagreement. She adds that the participants in the procession were carrying candles and asked for the establishment of a parliamentary commission composed of independent groups for the investigation of documents. Afterward there is a brief, partly indistinct exchange between the announcer and reporter in which the announcer mentions a telephone call received by "a participant in the session," who claimed that the procession was forbidden, to which the reporter answers that she has not heard about such a thing.

Several Demonstrations During Weekend Cited

AU1012144889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] A rally organized by 16 independent associations took place on Aleksandur Nevski Square in Sofia. The participants demanded immediate democratic changes. The rally was also devoted to the 41st anniversary of the Universal Human Rights Declaration adopted by the United Nations. A report on the meeting has been prepared and will be broadcast in the "Horizon for You Program."

On the occasion of International Human Rights Day and in connection with tomorrow's Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, a rally was held in Varna today at the initiative of the Podkrepa General Labor Federation and in cooperation with the rallied democratic forces of the town.

Representatives of independent clubs, associations, and organizations acquainted a few thousand Varna citizens who gathered at the rally with their programmatic declarations on further democracy and the restructuring of sociopolitical and economic life, for respecting and guaranteeing the constitutional rights of all citizens and social associations, for freedom of speech and press, and for real participation in mass media, television, and radio.

Demands were also voiced for eliminating Article 1 of the Constitution, for legal action to be taken against those responsible for the country's current economic crisis, and for eliminating water and air pollution.

Demonstrators Blame BCP

AU0912155989 Sofia BTA in English 1508 GMT 9 Dec 89

["Demonstration in Sofia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Some two thousand people marched on the National Assembly building in Sofia today, demanding immediate democratic changes. The protesters surrounded the parliament building chanting "Resignations" and "New Parliament."

The demonstrators urged an abolition of the constitutional provision guaranteeing the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] a leading role in political life. They called for a new constitution, for free elections and for a democratic and multiparty system.

There were demands for the BCP to accept responsibility for the crisis affecting the country.

Rallies Held

AU0912195689 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Thousands of people attended a rally which was held by informal groups in the town of Burgas today. They welcomed the efforts of the party and state leadership to pursue a policy of social renewal in compliance with the resolutions of the November 10 Plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

In a resolution to the National Assembly, the participants in the rally voted no confidence in the local party and state leadership which has committed numerous compromises and errors in its work. The degradation of the environment in the Burgas region is singled out as one of the gravest consequences of the leaders' incompetence.

Ecological problems were poignantly raised at a rally in the town of Troyan. The participants demanded a review of the Cherni Osum Dam project.

The participants split into two factions. The majority supported the democratic social renewal under way in this country, and the rest tried to discredit the BCP as a guarantor of democratic reforms. One speaker, without identifying his source, said that weapons had been handed out to BCP members.

Those who addressed a rally organized in Razgrad by the Renewal Reformist Public Committee declared themselves in support of the resolutions of the November and the December plenums of the CC of the BCP. They called on the participants for order, tolerance and ethics, for the free exchange of views.

The rally appealed for the personnel renewal of the top party and state bodies to be uncompromisingly carried on down the hierarchy, for free popular elections and for a fair solution to the pressing social problems.

"Free Elections Without Nomenklatura" and "Out With Parasites From Party at December Plenum" were two of the slogans raised at the rally in the town of Kyustendil.

In a declaration sent to the National Assembly, the participants in the rally organized by the Restructuring, Openness and Democracy Support Club and by the November 89 Club for a Democratized Public and Cultural Life said they were willing to work for the success of the radical changes under way in this country and for turning it into a democratic state committed to the rule of law.

Rally Against Pollution

AU0912203389 Sofia BTA in English 1659 GMT 9 Dec 89

["Clean Environment Demands"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Thousands flocked to a rally which was called in the town of Razlog, southeastern Bulgaria, last night, on the initiative of the local Society for Ecological Protection of the Razlog Municipality and of the public and mass organisations in the town.

Public figures, physicians and other experts talked about the exceedingly grave condition of the environment in the area due to the work of the Hydrolysis and Feed Grade Yeast Plant and the Pulp and Paper Combined Works in Razlog. The speakers cited facts about the ill health of children and adults, about a several-fold increase in the incidence of respiratory, skin and cardiovascular diseases and of hypertension over the last few years. These findings are confirmed by experts of the Institute of Hygiene and Occupational Diseases with the Medical Academy. The main conclusion is that the general morbidity of people over 15 years of age has doubled since 1970. A very serious damage has been inflicted on the scenic nature of the Razlog basin.

The participants in the rally sent a petition to the government and to the National Assembly, bearing the signatures of several thousand citizens. They urge for the closure of the productions which harm human health and the environment and categorically demand that the public be familiarized with the Rila water supply project and with the Mesta hydroelectric power project, as well as that a referendum be held on the matter.

Support for Restructuring

AU0912155389

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service at 1400 GMT on 9 December carries three brief reports, totaling 3 minutes, on a local rally in Kyustendil, an open meeting of a new independent organization in Pleven, and a procession in Sofia.

It is reported that "in Kyustendil a rally meeting was held in support of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization. Those present unanimously supported the speakers that in order to bring about political renewal, it is necessary to call to account those responsible for the distortions" and the "abuse of the people's trust." It is then stated that "the independent clubs for support of restructuring and glasnost read a resolution addressed to the National Assembly concerning turning Bulgaria into a law-governed, democratic socialist state, reducing the administrative bureaucratic apparatus, and ensuring that the development of agriculture and industry is carried out without contravening ecological standards. The resolution was supported unanimously."

According to the second report, "in Pleven the first open meeting took place of the Pleven Club for Democracy and Glasnost." The local correspondent, in a recorded dispatch, states that "the meeting was attended by young people, cultural figures, workers, and pensioners," and was devoted to local environmental problems. The correspondent reports that "an announcement was read at the meeting for the attention of the mass media and the party and state leadership in Pleven, which stated that the club was formed on 27 November 1989" and that the aims of its members were "to work for radical restructuring, democracy, glasnost, and pluralism in the country." A number of speakers demanded the identification of those who had failed to pay attention to the people's needs for more than 3 decades.

The third, mostly indistinct, report announces that "in Sofia a procession took place from the Southern Park to the Aleksandur Nevski Memorial Church." It is stated that "the event was organized by the Citizens' Initiative Movement" and others, and that representatives of independent associations and movements took part in the procession.

Sofia Rally Noted

AU1012174289

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1535 GMT carries an approximately 8-minute recorded "feature" on the public rally held at Sofia's Aleksandur Nevski Square at "around noon" on 10 December.

Two reporters, one male and one female, whose names are indistinct, begin by interviewing citizens attending the rally, asking them to explain the reason for their presence. The female reporter states that Aleksandur Nevski Square is "crowded," but she wants to ask them "why they are here, what they are supporting, what they are rejecting."

The first person interviewed, a man, says that he supports "renewal, renewal, and once again renewal." Unmonitorable voices of unidentified speakers are heard in the background. A woman answers the reporters: "I think that at a time like this the people should not separate themselves from their leaders; we must support them." Another female voice answers: "We are for a better life for the people, so that we may also have complete democracy in our society."

Following the interviews with citizens, the reporters announce their intention to interview "some people who are standing close to the speaker's rostrum," including Dr Konstantin Trenchev, who, according to the reporter "is joining the Union of Democratic Forces with the self-confidence that the Podkrepa Trade Union, of which he is a leading member, already has 30,000 members in this union." Trenchev says: "Our goal is to improve the people's economic situation, and, therefore, we will play a great role in the Democratic Union. We are in favor of fundamental changes in the economic structure of society. We think that the state ownership has proved its complete incapacity, both in Bulgaria and all over the world. We are in favor of pluralism of ownership, an opinion which the other members of the Democratic Union share."

Film director Anzhel Wagenshtayn, the next to be interviewed, says: "I would like to distance this rally from the one that took place yesterday. Our rally is a democratic rally. Its slogans are democratic, they have been announced in advance, and they are known to everyone. What do we want? 'We want more,' people are still shouting, 'we want more.' I hope that this rally will vote on a resolution for the resignation of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee and for the election of a new Central Committee."

Following Wagenshtayn's statement, the male reporter announces that "we tried our best to make an accurate and full recording of the rally's resolution, read by architect Angel Akrhanov." This is followed by a recording of Akrhanov reading the following resolution:

"We are assessing the democratic changes being carried out in our country since 10 November. Problems can be discussed more freely and some mistakes have been corrected. The activities of independent associations are not obstructed, as had happened in the past. Glasnost has expanded. It is our opinion that in the high echelons of power there are people who strive for democratic changes. We approve the removal of certain corrupt leaders who have lost all of our confidence, and we approve of eliminating the expressions of gratitude expressed to Todor Zhivkov [upon his resignation]. At the same time, new expressions of gratitude were addressed to those functionaries included in his closest entourage who were released and who share his guilt. The rather cautious advance of restructuring is a cause of concern. At this pace restructuring will reach the provinces in a distant future. The Central Committee and the apparatus it is the head of are guilty of creating the situation in which the country is involved. They are politically and morally outdated, and we are not even confident of the actions taken by this new staff. For this reason, we insist on the collective resignation of the BCP Central Committee, of all heads and deputy heads of Central Committee departments, and of all BCP oblast and municipal committees. We demand a real separation between the BCP and the other organizations and the state. We insist that party organizations in the law courts, in the Prosecutor's Office, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs be promptly disbanded. Total glasnost should be provided in connection with the manner in which the Sixth Administration of the State Security Department was abolished." The recording is interrupted at this point. Indistinct cheers from the crowds were audible throughout the reading of the resolution.

One of the two unidentified reporters adds that the resolution in question is addressed to the National Assembly chairman and to the mass media.

The feature closes with a few comments by the two reporters stating that "the resolution did not contain extremist views" and that "the rally raised many questions, and everyone should know what he wants and what he is fighting for." The final conclusion of the reporters is that they are "not sure whether they attended the rally as participants, or only as reporters."

Further on Rally

AU1012200689 Sofia BTA in English
1657 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—Tens of thousands of people flocked to a rally in downtown Sofia today, urging the en bloc resignation of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], of all heads and deputy heads of Central Committee departments and of all regional and municipal BCP committees.

"The overcautious advance of restructuring is cause for concern. The CC of the BCP and the apparatus it heads are to blame for the situation in which the country has found itself now. They are politically and morally worn out and in their current composition lack our confidence," says a resolution of the rally which was approved by acclamation and chants of "tomorrow", "tomorrow" (referring to the plenum which the BCP Central Committee opens tomorrow, December 11).

"We take notice of the democratic changes in our society over the last month. Problems can be raised more freely and some mistakes are being corrected. The activity of the independent associations is not impeded and glasnost is gaining ground. There are people in the higher echelon of power who seek democratic reforms. We assess in positive terms the ouster of some corrupt leaders who have lost the people's confidence," the resolution reads further on.

The rally was organized by 19 independent groups and organizations on the day on which the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 41 years ago.

Addressing the rally, Mr Zhelyu Zhelev, Ph.D., proposed on behalf of the Union of Democratic Forces which he chairs the immediate preparation and start of a national round-table dialogue between the BCP and the independent associations. The participants in this round-table discussion should consider the provisions of a future democratic constitution which will not enshrine the leading role of any political party, the abolition of the State Council and the holding of direct presidential elections by popular vote. Accommodation is needed on a new electoral law and laws on the freedom of the press and information, on freedom of assembly, association and formation of political parties, and common ground should be sought on the economic and cultural reforms.

"We do not seek to gain political power but to take the country out of totalitarianism and on the wide road of democracy in close cooperation with all other democratic forces and organisations," Mr Zhelev said.

"The changes effected over the last month give us reason to believe that the democratic process in Bulgaria will not grind to a halt and get into idle running," the speaker said. He welcomed the resolution of the December 8 Plenum of the CC of the BCP "which removed from the CC of the BCP and from Politburo a sizable part of the attendants of Todor Zhivkov's autocratic regime." On the other hand, there is the alarming fact thal almost no personnel changes affect the lower rungs of the state and the party hierarchy and that the provinces remain practically isolated from the changes. The ethnic problems are not raised for settlement, although it is precisely these which combine with a tangible democratization to produce a really explosive situation, Mr Zhelev said.

Mr Zhelyu Zhelev said that the Union of Democratic Forces distances itself from yesterday's demonstration in Sofia with its extremist slogans.

"All that any calls for violence and terror can do is destroy the democratic programme for restructuring of the country and plunge it into the clutches of a military dictatorship," he said.

He announced that a Committee for National Reconciliation between Bulgarians and Turks was formed last week and that it will seek to prevent a refuelling of interethnic hostility before the new BCP leaders take practical action to solve the problems.

The Union of Democratic Forces condemns the pointless and unjustified strikes which could result in a complete disorganization of production and supplies. The heightened civic and political activism is not incompatible with efficient and organized work even under the existing structures which are up for revision. At this point the government has got no program for a way out of the economic crisis. A wide-ranging public dialogue involving experts is therefore needed to work out urgently a national programme for economic recovery, a number of those who took the floor at today's rally emphasized.

Here are some of the demands contained in the rally resolution:

—Right at its forthcoming session, the National Assembly should repeal Article 1 of the Constitution guaranteeing the leading role of the BCP;

—The BCP primary organizations at workplaces should be disbanded; the BCP and the other official organizations should disclose the sources of their financing; the BCP organizations at the law courts, the Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs should be immediately disbanded, and all archives and documents discrediting certain individuals and groups should be placed under public control;

—The Television and Radio Committee should be placed under the control of the National Assembly and should be governed by a public board elected by parliament;

—A parliamentary commission including independent representatives should be formed to look into the reasons for the interethnic conflict unleashed by Zhivkov's regime. The culprits should be exposed and ways should be suggested to ease the tensions;

—The term of conscription should be reduced, and the introduction of alternative military service for conscientious objectors should be considered.

—All people convicted on political grounds should be unconditionally rehabilitated;

—A nationwide discussion should start on the opportunities for agrarian reform. The land should be given to those who want to cultivate it.

—Individual and cooperative publishing and audiovisual activity should be immediately allowed;

—Ideological monopolism should be eliminated from culture, from the curricula, science, the arts, etc;

—A law on religious faiths should be enacted to lay down full equality between believers and atheists and equal conditions for propaganda and information.

—The higher educational establishments, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the national cultural institutions should be granted autonomy and territorial inviolability.

Human Rights Rallies

AU1012220989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] We continue to inform you about the rallies held throughout the country today:

About 10,000 Plovdiv citizens gathered on the city's central square for a rally at the initiative of local independent associations. The speakers expressed their opinion on the current political and legal changes. New elections were urged. More dynamic rates of speed in doing away with the administrative-command system were requested. The speakers insisted on guaranteeing the real freedom of speech and press. Actions of local party and state leaders prior to 10 November and following it were subjected to sharp criticism.

A rally devoted to International Human Rights Day was held in Gabrovo at the initiative of the Club for Glasnost and Social Progress called "Alternative." The speakers insisted on accelerating democratization and submitted specific proposals to the city leadership, such as improvement of the food supply and a more just distribution of housing and [words indistinct].

"We do not want a return to the past, [word indistinct] and more civic activities!" These were the slogans at today's meeting in Kazunluk, which was organized by the independent movement in support of restructuring and in support of accelerating the processes of change. Representatives of Ecoglasnost, of the Plamak Independent Youth Club, of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union named after Nikola Petkov, and others voiced demands for a more resolute liberation of society from the distortions and shortcomings that have been admitted. They called for adjusting the legal system to the level of the civilized world. Nevertheless, certain citizens were admitted to the rostrum who slandered and delivered unrestrained attacks. This tone shows that before voicing claims for pluralism and glasnost, one should learn the basic notions of civilized discussion and good manners.

In the center of Khaskovo a rally took place during which the speakers insisted on pursuing the processes of renewal in our country that are aimed at the further democratization of society. The requirement for glasnost, pluralism, and freedom of speech was emphasized for the solution of urgent social policy problems.

A rally was held in Blagoevgrad at which the speakers welcomed the new political course by insisting on even more radical changes in the country's social, economic, and intellectual life.

The speakers declared themselves against the policy of the past in which common origins and blood relationships played a considerable role, against the nomenklatura regime, and the administrative-command methods of leadership. They demanded that parliament should impose a veto on the draft for [word indistinct], as well for cadre changes in the oblast leadership.

A rally attended by numerous people was held in Sliven by the local Podkrepa Trade Union. The party and state were urged to adopt real actions for democratization and glasnost in all spheres of society and social life. Along with justified criticism and demands for the further development of the country, some extremist views were expressed related to the role of the Bulgarian Communist Party in building socialism, which were not approved by the participants in the rally. The resolution addressed to the National Assembly demands constitutional changes likely to guarantee the irreversibility and success of restructuring initiated following 10 November.

At a large rally organized by independent groups and organizations, the citizens of Byala Slatina supported the party's new course for the entire renewal of socialist society. Many speakers pointed out that success can now be achieved through general confidence, which has not yet been achieved. Numerous facts and examples of gross violations of legality by the municipal party and state leadership were cited.

Burgas Informal Groups Postpone 'Subotnik'

AU0812221889 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 3 Dec 89 p 3

[BTA report from Burgas: "Why Was the 'Subotnik' Postponed?"]

[Text] Burgas, 2 December—Among the most important social problems discussed at recent rallies attended by thousands of people in Burgas was the accelerated commissioning of a surgical ward that has been under construction for the last 12 years. The members of the "19 November Club" that was spontaneously established at a rally in the town's Kiril and Metodi Square, adopted the initiative to organize a voluntary working day to accelerate the work on this project that is of particular importance for the town's health services.

However, how great was the disappointment of those who met today with the leaders of the Construction-Assembly Combine No. 4, which is in charge of the project and who turned out to be totally unprepared. No one had bothered to provide the necesary tools and working equipment. As a result of these technical and organizational shortcomings, the "Subotnik" was postponed for a week.

Spokesman Warns Against 'Extremist Tendencies'

AU0912203189 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 9 Dec 89

["Against Extremist Tendencies"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—In a televised statement Government Spokesman Filip Bokov warned today against an "escalation of tensions in the country." Mr Bokov condemned the actions of some extremist elements who could hinder restructuring and even "put the country decades back." The government spokesman was referring to today's demonstration in Sofia, some participants of which raised the slogans: "Death to the Traitors," "Down With the BCP" [Bulgarian Communist Party] and "Down With the Communists." He described as "provocative" the allegation of "weapons handed out to Communists" made by a speaker at the rally in Troyan.

Mr Petur Beron, secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria, dissociated himself from the conservative and the extremist elements. Speaking in the weekly television news show PANORAMA, he called on everybody who joins political life in the country to engage in a sensible dialogue. Mr Beron emphasized that the platform of all ten independent associations which formed the union rule out violence as a method of political struggle.

Provincial Writers' Union Formed in Gabrovo

AU0912222889 Sofia BTA in English 1652 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Over 30 men of letters from around the country attended the constituent meeting of an Out-of-Sofia Union of Bulgarian Writers in the town of Gabrovo last night. They adopted a statute and a programme of the union and elected a governing and an auditing board. The participants voted a declaration to the National Assembly.

Declaring itself a successor of the provincial writers union established in Bulgaria in 1934, the Out-of-Sofia Union of Bulgarian Writers sets itself the objective of upholding all progressive creative and humanitarian traditions of Bulgarian literature which encourage the intellectual rebirth of the Bulgarian people. Writers who have published books and who have received acclaim from critics and the reading public but who are not members of the Union of Bulgarian Writers in the capital will be eligible for membership.

The new writers' organisation will seek to establish a publishing house, to publish an out-of-Sofia weekly literary journal and a monthly literary magazine and to institute a fund for the assistance and support of provincial writers.

Public Meeting for Restructuring Held in Burgas

AU0512143289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Unsigned "Oblast correspondent" report from Burgas: "Great Upsurge of Political Life"]

[Text] The decisions of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee plenums stormily increased the pace of political life in Burgas Oblast. At two consecutive rallies, attended by thousands of people in Burgas, as well as at public meetings held in other settlements of the area, working people demonstrated their support for the party's political course toward real restructuring. Many urgent questions were discussed in a sharply critical but constructive spirit. Along with this, certain individuals appeared at the rallies who were visibly trying to take advantage of the processes of renewal for their own demagogical and selfish goals.

Neverthless, if we wish to describe the most significant political event that occurred last week in Burgas Oblast, we should undoubtedly mention the conference of the Oblast party aktiv. The new and unusual feature of this forum manifested itself in the liberated spirit and profound critical analysis of the situation. It was clearly pointed out that the party committees have difficulties in finding their way in the new situation and are restructuring too slowly. Relations with labor collectives have even been interrupted in certain places. People are not being informed about the decisions adopted by the party committees. No resistance is opposed to those who are trying to discredit socialist society. The plenum adopted specific measures on all these issues.

Sofia City Bus Drivers Threaten To Strike

AU1012193389 Sofia BTA in English 1731 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—Bus drivers working in Sofia's Urban Transit System held a warning rally this morning and threatened to take strike action. They demanded urgently a reduction of overtime and its fair pay at incentive rates, the immediate elimination of the manpower shortage in their branch and an improvement of transport workers' working and living conditions.

Before going to work, the participants in the rally accepted the suggestion of a Sofia City Council official to carry on the dialogue on Tuesday and Wednesday. They elected a commission of representatives to negotiate with the municipal authorities.

Mladenov Meets With Party Veterans

AU0111075289 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November (BTA)—Today Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and State Council president had a meeting with resistance fighters and veterans of the party.

Frankly and with much pain and concern they spoke about the complex problems in all spheres of life. The participants in the meeting firmly expressed their support for the new political course of the Bulgarian Communist Party. It was indicated that deeds are needed now to restore the confidence of the people in the party. The BCP should decisively be cleared off of the aberations, the party's virtues must be restored. At the same time many of the speakers stressed that at the present difficult stage the party of the Bulgarian Communists is strong enough to be a major moving force of the processes of renewal in this country. The veterans appealed at the party's leading bodies to firmly stand up for the principled line of the BCP by developing the inter-party democracy and change dramatically the style and methods of work. It was said that a survey of cadres at all levels should be made.

Mr Petur Mladenov spoke about the mistakes and abrogations made in the last years, about the difficulties facing the economy. He said that at the forthcoming plenum of the CC of the BCP in December the country's present state will be discussed

Mladenov Meets With Agricultural Workers

AU3011225889 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—Agriculture, the food and the light industry and tourism will be the priorities of Bulgarian economic development, said Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, addressing the staff of the Ivan Pashov Stockbreeding Farm near Sofia today.

Mr Petur Mladenov and the stockbreeders had a candid and responsible discussion on the achievements and the problems of Bulgarian agriculture. The matters raised at the meeting included the outdated facilities, the urgent need of technological retooling and the growing difference between industrial and farm products prices which erodes profitability and devalues the work of the peasants. One in eight of the farm's staff took the floor, expressing the Bulgarian people's support for the new policy line of the Bulgarian Communist Party and their optimism that the problems will be overcome with joint efforts for the well-being of the Bulgarian people.

"It takes courage and trust in the Bulgarian people to start the renewal of the party and the state at such a watershed moment," said Mr Boris Kaloyanov, a farming machine operator.

Ms Peika Khristova spoke of the urgent need to invest in technological renewal and especially in social policy.

Mr Petur Mladenov thanked his audience for their unanimous support of restructuring. He expressed the conviction that radical decisions are needed for the development of agriculture and said that the farming sector will receive special attention at the forthcoming plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

He said he was convinced that priority should be assigned to the development of agriculture, the food and the light industry as branches of decisive importance to improve availability of consumer goods and services. Tourism should be the other economic priority as a source of foreign exchange earnings. He indicated that a heavy state investment in agriculture can produce fine and early results.

Pointing out that the country faces intricate problems which cannot be solved in the space of a year or two, Mr Petur Mladenov expressed his conviction that "there is a way out of the situation and it depends on us all."

"You must trust Bulgaria very much to take up such heavy responsibilities," someone in the audience suggested. "Yes, I have great trust in Bulgaria and in the industrious Bulgarian people and I am convinced that there is a bright and good future in store for them," Mr Petur Mladenov said at the end of his meeting with the stockbreeders.

Draft Law on Demonstrations Examined

AU0112084589 Sofia BTA in English
2106 GMT 30 Nov 89

["Bulgarian Legislation To Be Democratized and Humanized"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—Two bills will be submitted for consideration at the forthcoming National Assembly session scheduled for December 14: on non-economic public associations of citizens and on meetings and demonstrations.

At the joint session held here today by three National Assembly standing committees, the MP's stressed the urgency of enacting such legislation.

A wide-ranging discussion was held on the motion for an early introduction in parliament of a draft amendment to the Penal Code repealing and modifying certain provisions inconsistent with the present-day requirements of respect for citizens' rights.

The prevalent opinion was not to submit the Penal Code amendments bill at the forthcoming session so as to perfect the proposed amendments and to specify their wording.

The debate proceeded from a report submitted by the ministers of justice, of foreign and of internal affairs.

One foremost priority at this stage of the development of the Bulgarian state and society is not just passing new laws or amending the ones already in force in order to bring them in line with the country's international commitments, but alerting the current practice and abolishing the unjustified and unwarranted administrative restrictions. The dismantling of the command-and-administer system necessitates the taking of urgent measures to eliminate the vicious practice of adopting acts of subordinate legislation or of administrative moves which contravene the law, the report says.

The MP's suggested that new laws or amendments to existing legislation on press and information, the religious denominations, the electoral system, police work, labour relations and citizens' ownership be included in the parliament's legislative plan for 1990.

National Assembly Commissions Meet 30 Nov

AU3011220189 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] A joint meeting of the Defense of Social Interests and of Citizens Rights Commission, the Foreign Policy Commission, and the Legislative Commission of the National Assembly was held today.

The main report on adjusting legislation to Bulgaria's international commitments in the citizens' rights sphere was read by Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice.

She stressed in her report that the legislative reform should be carried out in different directions. It should deal with the regulation of the economic, social, cultural, and political rights of mankind. Efficient legal instruments should be created for protection in cases of human rights violations. The National Assembly deputies delivered detailed statements on all questions discussed and submitted several proposals.

On Housing Projects

AU3011224489 Sofia BTA in English
1909 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—The housing crisis in Sofia is as acute as ever. The number of families on the waiting list for housing has increased from 57,902 to 84,645 over the last ten years, while merely 125,908 residential units (excluding the company-built ones) have been built in Sofia during the same period.

The National Assembly Standing Committee on the Protection of Public Interests and Citizens Rights met today to consider a report of the working group on housing allocation in the capital city. The law-makers agreed on the need of a new housing construction policy.

The influx of people into Sofia from the rest of the country (which has increased the capital's population by over half a million in a short period of time) and the outdated housing allocation mechanism were singled out as the reasons for the current state of affairs.

The principal flaw of the existing housing distribution and redistribution arrangements is their administrative character.

The participants in the meeting found that the state has undertaken the impossible task of determining the housing requirements and of largely meeting them in inadequate forms.

That is why the Committee suggested that draft guidelines for the further implementation of the housing policy in this country, elaborating all possible forms and ways of meeting the people's requirements, be introduced at an early date in the national assembly.

Taking into account the political relevance of the problem, the committee urged still more active efforts to check the manifestations of bad faith by citizens and officials and the cases of corruption.

An inquiry held in four of Sofia's 24 boroughs showed that 3,723 families had been dropped from the waiting lists and another 2,646 families had had their priority status changed.

Mr Chavdar Kyuranov of the Club for Support of Glasnost and Restructuring in Bulgaria, who attended the meeting, said that housing has become a privilege instead of being a commodity, that the allocative principles should be replaced by market ones within which, however, the socially disadvantaged citizens should have their interests guaranteed.

Party-Government Commission Discusses Work

AU3011214489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] At today's meeting, the special Party and Government Commission for the investigation and settlement of unresolved problems related to existing distortions in economic and social life discussed the organization of its work.

The commission decided to concentrate its attention on the most important problems discussed by the members of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee at the November plenums, by the National Assembly deputies at the last National Assembly Session, as well as by Communists, citizens, and collectives in the days immediately following these events.

The commission shall adhere to the recently established practice and shall not deal with anonymous letters or messages. The commission shall seek the support of the public and of competent organs, which, according to the Constitution, are responsible for observing the law and the norms of social ethics.

The commission shall periodically inform the people about its work. The specialized control and government organs were assigned the task of establishing an appropriate organization for a competent, legal, and efficient clarification and solution of problems related to distortions.

Company Restored After Employees' Protest

AU2911142489 Sofia BTA in English 1310 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—For two days now the major dailies write about the fate of the Software Products and Systems Company in Sofia. This is a result of the open letter of the people working there against the decision taken 8 months ago to close down the company.

Software Products and Systems has been operating for several years and has 22 branches throughout the country. Despite the disagreement of the people who work there, it was incorporated in the Microprocessor Systems Company, in the town of Pravets, the place of birth of the former leader of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the state Todor Zhivkov. This is now explained by the head of the Electronics Association Mr Ivan Tenev with the fact that "the affections and antipathies have determined the fate of both individual enterprises as well as of whole branches" and by the "the manipulated dualism—freedom in words only of the economic structures while in fact, gross regulation." According to him this refers to an error of the staff, headed by the former secretary general, about the establishment of the companies.

The open letter, however, points out that "by his practical actions the association's chairman lost our confidence." The protest of the people working in software products and systems led to results. A resolution of the government was declared for restoration of their economic association.

Mr Rashko Angelov, acting manager of the company, said: We became victims of the totalitarian, administrative and command regime. We are for the new line and our requirement is: noninterference in the companies' work.

Regret Over Prague Intervention Expressed

AU0812122789 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 6 Dec 89 p 1

[Vasil Dzherekarov article: "Let Us Remember Prague 1968"]

[Text] The Soviet Union finally also condemned the invasion of Czechoslovkia in 1968 and so did our government a few days ago, together with all East European states that participated in the tragedy. They denounced the intervention that played the role of a decisive turning point in the development of world socialism. Realistically viewed, the changes that began in Czechoslovakia in the early spring of 1968 resulted from the ideas developed at the 20th CPSU Congress. "The Prague Spring" was an experiment of Czechoslovak society to find its own path of development as a socialist state, outside the Stalinist model imposed not only in the Soviet Union, but also in Eastern Europe. However, in 1968 things had changed in the Soviet Union. The command-bureaucratic system was victorious in the struggle to eliminate Stalinism, and any attempt to implement a reform initiated by a Communist Party was evaluated as a counterrevolutionary action. Tanks were called in to help, instead of applying political means and dialogue. While the results of August 1968 are still awaiting evaluation, we can see their influence upon the stormy events that are developing, not only in Eastern Europe, but all over the world. One of the most important results of this is that when Communist Parties themselves take the initiative and implement the inevitable democratic changes in their society, the changes are always developing in the direction of socialism. Vice versa, the longer such changes are withheld, and especially by the Communist Parties themselves, the more likely they are to prepare the ground for the development of noncommunist movements. This is also the case in Czechoslovakia today, considering that "socialism with a human face [choveshko litse]" was propagated in 1968, while the struggle today is more complicated and more dramatic by far. We in Bulgaria should remember this warning, and it concerns the Communists in the first place. They should take the initiative, not in words but in deeds, because we have already heard enough words.

Last but not least, I would like to say something to our people's credit: The invasion of Czechoslovakia was viewed as a true national tragedy in our country. Behind the noisy propaganda about counterrevolution, we could detect a general mood of sadness and resignation, and we should not forget those people, Communists in their majority, who had to bear the consequences of their honest objection and suffered from them.

One of them was Bay Duko, an old helper of the partisans from Trunsko, who had been tortured and nearly killed by the police under the fascist regime. I met him in front of the Sofia University Building on 17 August 1968, precisely. He asked me point-blank: "Tell me, brother, if we do not like what is going on in another country, should we also invade it with tanks? Since when have we Communists adopted such practices?"

Journalist Has Mixed Feelings About Romania

AU0812120789 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 6 Dec 89 p 3

[Vasil Savov article: "Exterior Form of Expression and Essence of An 'Era'"]

[Excerpts] The 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] ended in Bucharest a week ago. For various reasons, we could not follow it regularly. Our special correspondent will inform you about some of the problems discussed at this forum and share his impressions on the present Romanian reality.

This was not my first visit to the Romanian capital. Nostalgic feelings have always attracted me to this city. This time they were even enhanced by the pleasant view of the impressive new city center. [passage omitted]

The congress ended just as it began: With stormy applause, numerous standing ovations, and chants in honor of Romania, the RCP, and Nicolae Ceausescu. While I listened and observed what was happening in the Congress Hall, my thoughts went back to our own country, as it was several decades ago. Those were years of spontaneous enthusiasm, based on a few achievements, but on hopes and confidence in the future, above all. Life taught us a great deal in the last 10-15 years, but only recently, in liberating us from idealization, it brought us back to the facts of life. All things should be considered in the context of their time, of the era in which they take place.

Our northern neighbors believe that they are living "in the era of Ceausescu." This was confirmed by the posters portraying the RCP general secretary, or his wife, Elena Ceausescu, who are considered the creators of this era. All this was expressed in the statements of the delegates at the congress, who started by addressing both of them, before greeting anyone else in the audience. Nevertheless, what matters is not the exterior form of expression, it is the essence of things.

No one can dispute the Romanian Communists' right to organize and hold its highest party forum according to their own taste, as they consider it appropriate, and according to their traditions and customs. The RCP general secretary, in his report to the congress, was fully justified in recalling the specific conditions under which socialism is built in individual countries, the differences in the peoples' psychological attitudes and their political development. The imitation of alien concepts was once more denounced and the "uniform model" of building socialism was rejected. [passage omitted]

In pointing out their undeniable successes, the Romanian Communists did not fail to mention the accelerated rates and impressive growth of development, following the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965, when Nicolae Ceausescu was elected general secretary. The report to the present congress specifically stressed that the Ninth Congress, precisely, "put an end once and for all to negative manifestations, corruption, and violation of the law...." According to the report, the consistent application of the principles of scientific socialism, of dialectical and historical materialism practiced since the Ninth Congress in the construction of the new society, determines Romania's ascending development, while disregard for this approach allegedly caused the current events in other socialist countries.

Nevertheless, foreign press representatives could not help noticing the low temperatures in the hotels resulting from restrictions in power consumption introduced in Romania. [passage omitted]

Along with all this, while the congress reported accelerated rates of growth and unprecedentedly high harvest results amounting to the record figure of 60 million tonnes of grain, the shortage of essential foodstuffs is visible in the stores. Variety is very limited and the quality indexes are lagging behind considerably. This reminds us of the domestic market situation in other socialist countries, including our own. In this respect, the common features evidently prevail over the specific Romanian conditions, and this does not only apply to the socioeconomic sphere.

Aleksandrov, Delegation Meet U.S. Oilmen

AU0812225089 Sofia BTA in English
1843 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] New York, December 8 (BTA)—A delegation of the Committee on Geology, headed by its chairman Chudomir Aleksandrov, had talks here with U.S. businessmen from the petroleum industry concerning the possibilities for cooperation.

In the City of Houston, Texas, representatives of 52 petroleum companies were acquainted with petroleum and natural gas prospecting in Bulgaria and the conditions for joint activity. The participants in the meeting, consisting of over 130 businessmen and experts, discussed the possibilities for new forms of cooperation. The U.S. companies expressed their wish to negotiate for the establishment of joint enterprises in the extraction industry.

Council of Churches Section Meets in Sofia

AU0112163989 Sofia BTA in English
2056 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—At the invitation of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Church and Society Sub-unit of the World Council of Churches (WCC) held its annual session in Sofia from November 23 to 30, 1989. The session was chaired by the sub-unit's moderator, the Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Dr John Stapylton Habgood, Archbishop of York (Church of England), and was attended by 25 prominent ecclesiastics and public figures, theologians and experts of 15 countries.

The participants were received by His Holiness Patriarch Maksim of Bulgaria. The guests visited the St. Clement of Ochrida Theological Academy and many orthodox and other Christian churches in the capital city. They were familiarized with the religious activities of the believers.

They met with the leadership of the World Movement Ecoforum for Peace.

In view of the forthcoming world All-Christian Conference on Justice, Peace and the Preservation of the Integrity of Creation (Seoul, South Korea, 1990), the Church and Society Sub-unit resolved to recommend that the WCC member churches campaign for the adequate planning of the generation and use of nuclear power, for a critical and ethical review of genetic manipulations and for a positive development of biotechnologies, for an end to the destruction of the tropical rain forests, for effective measures to mitigate the greenhouse effect, etc.

At its Sofia session, the Church and Society Sub-unit determined the World Council of Churches' stands on assisting mankind's efforts to cope with the universal ecological hazards and to cultivate a heightened environmental awareness, on enriching human society with the evangelical spiritual, moral and universally human values which can guarantee a world of security and benevolence to this and the succeeding generations.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 24 Nov-1 Dec

AU0812212889

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1600 GMT on 24 November through 1600 GMT on 1 December report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

On 24 November the following leaders held meetings with local party, state, economic, and public leaders and workers' collectives in different parts of Bulgaria: Georgi Atanasov, in Varna; Pencho Kubadinski, in Razgrad; Andrey Lukanov, in Lovech and Pleven; Pantaley Pachov, in Plovdiv; Nacho Papazov, in Burgas; Ivan Stanev, in Novi Iskur; Dimitur Stanishev, in Kyustendil; Prodan Stoyanov, in Pazardzhik; Interior Minister Georgi Tanev, in Stara Zagora; and Mincho Yovchev, in Kazanluk and Khaskovo. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Nov 89 pp 1, 6) On 25 November, Mincho Yovchev met with members of an independent citizens' committee in Dimitrovgrad. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 89 p 2)

Petur Mladenov held a meeting in Sofia on 25 November with the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, led by Minister Georgi Tanev. (Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 25 Nov 89)

Dimitur Stanishev and Mincho Yovchev attended a National Day reception in the Yugoslav Embassy in Sofia on 28 November. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 89 p 2)

Andrey Lukanov and Pencho Kubadinski attended an National Day reception given by Albanian Ambassador Bashkim Rama in Sofia on 29 November. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 29 Nov 89)

Petur Mladenov, with Andrey Lukanov and Dimitur Stanishev in attendance, received in Sofia on 1 December a CPC delegation led by Qiao Shi. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 1 Dec 89)

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, met with representatives of the mass media in Sofia on 29 November. (Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 29 Nov 89) Outside Sofia on 30 November he met with the workers at a stock breeding farm, (Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 30 Nov 89) and on the same day met with party veterans in Sofia. (Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 30 Nov 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 29 November Vadim Malyshev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Safety in Industry and Atomic Power Industry. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, took part in a festive meeting in the village of Brushlyanitsa, near Pleven, on 25 November to mark the 70th anniversary of the formation of the local party organization. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 89 p 2) In Warsaw on 28 November Dzhurov took part in a regular meeting of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Nov 89)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, took part in an expanded plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions held in Sofia on 25 November. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 25 Nov 89)

Pantaley Pachov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Plovdiv Oblast BCP Committee, met the workers at the Rekord Lift Truck Plant in Plovdiv on 29 November and discussed their problems. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a National Day reception given by the Mongolian ambassador, Lhamin Zerendondog, in Sofia on 24 November. Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Nov 89 p 6) In Sofia on 29 November Yordanov received Vladimir Isaichev, first deputy chief arbiter of the USSR. (Sofia BTA in English 2122 GMT 29 Nov 89)

President Husak Decrees Major Amnesty 8 Dec

LD0812201489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Dec 89

[From the "Radio Newsreel" program]

[Text] [Announcer] We begin this "Radio Newsreel" with an important decision by our head of state, which we received from the President's office a few moments ago:

Amnesty Decree by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic dated 8 December 1989:

In keeping with the democratization process taking place in the social and political life of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the social danger has diminished in respect of a whole series of crimes and misdemeanours regulated by the Penal Code, and by the law on misdemeanors. After due consideration of this fact, and with regard to the standpoints of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czech and Slovak Republican Governments, the prosecutor general of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the republican prosecutors general, the ministers of justice of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, the minister of national defense and the federal minister of the interior, I invoke the right, vested in me by the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and I declare the following amnesty.

Article 1: I decree that criminal proceedings be halted and, where they have begun that they be discontinued, for the following crimes: subversion of the Republic under Paragraph 98 of the Penal Code; prejudicing a state of the world socialist system under Paragraph 98 of the Penal Code: prejudicing a state of the world socialist system under Paragraph 99 of the Penal code in relation to Paragraph 98 of the Penal Code; incitement under Paragraph 100 of the Penal Code; abuse of religious office under Paragraph 101 of the Penal Code; defaming the Republic and its representatives under Paragraphs 102 and 103 of the Penal Code; defaming a state of the world socialist system and its representatives under Paragraph 104 of the Penal Code; deserting the Republic under Paragraph 109 of the Penal Code; damaging the interests of the Republic abroad under Paragraph 112 of the Penal Code; appropriating materials destined for use in the economy under Paragraph 116 of the Penal Code' unauthorized business activity under Paragraph 118, Section 1 of the Penal Code; attacking a state organ and an organ of a social organization under Paragraph 154, Section 2 of the Penal Code; obstructing a public official in the course of his duty under Paragraph 156/A of the Penal Code; obstructing supervision of the Church and religious societies under Paragraph 178 of the Penal Code; defaming the nation, races and religious convictions under Paragraph 198/b of the Penal Code—where these were committed before the date of this decree.

Article 2: I decree that proceedings be dropped, and where they have been initiated that they be discontinued, in respect of: misdemeanors against the interests of the socialist economy under Paragraph 2/c, of Law 150/69; misdemeanors against the interests of socialist society in contacts with foreign countries, under Paragraph 5/b, c, and d of Law 150/69; misdemeanors against public order under Paragraph 6/a and c of Law 150/69, as referred to in the legal measure taken by the Presidium of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, No. 10/89—where these were committed prior to the date of this decree.

Article 3: I pardon prison sentences, or the remainder of prison sentences, which have already acquired the force of law, where these were imposed before the date of this decree, for the crimes stated in Article 1, and for the misdemeanors stated in Article 2 of this decree, with the effect that from the date of this decree, the offender will be deemed not to have been convicted.

Article 4. One: I pardon suspended prison sentences, corrective training sentences which have not been served, and the remainder of these sentences, as well as financial penalties which have not been paid in full and the remainder of such penalties, and sentences of deportation and prohibition of presence, where these were imposed before the date of this decree and have already acquired the force of law, for the crimes stated in Article 1 and for the misdemeanors stated in Article 2 of this decree, with the effect that from the date of this decree, the offender will be deemed not to have been convicted.

Two: Persons who were given sentences of financial penalties before the date of this decree for the crimes stated in Article 1 and for the misdemeanors stated in Article 2, and who have served these sentences, will, from the date of this decree, be deemed not to have been convicted.

Article 5: Articles 1 and 2 will not apply in cases where, by the date of this decree, a sentence has been passed but has not yet acquired the force of law, for crimes or misdemeanors stated in Articles 1 and 2 committed in parallel with other crimes or misdemeanors, unless an appeal is lodged against the sentence. After such a sentence has acquired the force of law, the judge will make a decision to alter the extent of the sentence according to the appropriate provisions of the Penal Code.

Article 6: I instruct the prosecutor general of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the ministers of justice of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics, and the minister of national defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to submit for my consideration proposals in respect of persons against whom proceedings are under way or who have already been convicted, but have not yet served their sentence—from crimes of unlawful entry onto the territory of the Republic under Paragraph 110 of the Penal Code; for violating international air traffic regulations under Paragraph 111 of the Penal Code; for unauthorized business activity under Paragraph 118, Section 2, of the Penal Code; for attacking a public official under Paragraph 156, Section 2, of the Penal Code; for condoning a criminal act under Paragraph 165 of the penal code; for obstructing the execution of an official decision under Paragraph 171, Section 1/C, of the Penal Code; for abducting a person to a foreign country under Paragraph 233 of the Penal Code; for failure to fulfil military service obligations under Paragraph 267 of the Penal Code; for failure to report for service in the Armed Forces under Paragraphs 269 and 270 of the Penal Code; for endangering the political and moral state of a service unit under Paragraph 288 of the Penal Code; and in addition for misdemeanors of obstructing the execution of an official decision under Paragraph 7/D, Law 150/69, and for showing undue favor under Paragraph 12, Law 150/69, where these were committed before the date of this decree.

Signed in Prague, 8 December 1989.

[Second announcer] That was the verbatim text of today's amnesty decree by the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Husak Speaks to Nation, Resigns Post 9 Dec

LD0912194889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Speech to nation by President Gustav Husak on 9 December; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens, esteemed comrades, the events in our country have been developing at such a pace that I have not had any time to put down a few lines or thoughts with which I want to address you today and so I have only a few theses.

Throughout our homeland discussions, meetings, and talks have been taking place at all levels, in districts, regions, republics as well as in the center of the state. Various views and proposals are being voiced, including on personnel changes.

What are honest people concerned about essentially? To preserve all the good things that have been achieved in our country for years and build on them, eliminating the mistakes, efforts, and distortions that have also happened, and in particular to give people certainties in their present life and prospectives for the years to come.

I personally hold in high esteem the discussion involving all people in which figure an enormous number of remarkable views, sometimes differing, as it happenes in such situations, looking for democratic forms of our socialist state.

I am speaking to you today above all to inform you about the solution regarding the principle constitutional organs in the state's center, so we do not allow a constitutional crisis, an unlawful state, or chaos. A part of my responsiblity also lies in seeing that the supreme constitutional bodies of the state are formed. The Federal Assembly, as I know, is meeting on Tuesday 12 December and I assume it will complete forming its leading organs. This is not however, I would say, my concern.

The main topic of discussion is forming the new federal government and resignation of the president. I spoke about it a week ago and I have received on this question a great number of letters and (?messages), partly supporting me and partly critical, as well as various suggestions.

I thank you for all your remarks, including those negative ones—at least one knows what views people hold.

A week ago, when the federal government was being rearranged, I spoke about the issue of resigning from the presidential office. You know very well that the outcome was: Comrade Adamec resigned and we had to go into a second round. According to our Constitution, when the president resigns and a new president has not yet been elected or has not yet been sworn in, his office is carried out by the government, therefore we must have a government.

Therefore the naming, or rather a reconstruction of the government is the first prerequisite.

I have entrusted Comrade Calfa, first deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Government, to name or reconstruct the government. Yesterday and again today he informed me that the deliberations of the political parties and other political initiatives and movements are progressing positively and that there are signs that tomorrow, Sunday, the new government of national understanding [vlada narodniho porozumeni] can be named. I hope this will be so.

Immediately after the naming of the new government I will resign from the office of the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in line with the stance of the political parties of the National Front, to make further development easier.

In line with the constitution, parliament will have to elect a new president within 14 days.

In my view, the main things in our society now are to create prerequisites for normal life everywhere; to enshrine in the law new and democratic principles of our state; to ensure normal running of the economic sphere—and in this area there are serious, or even very serious, tasks ahead; to preserve the living standards of the people—all categories of people are already getting worried on this account; to prepare prerequisites for a better system of social security; to honor our international ties and the obligations of a free state; to ensure the all-around development of our states, nations, and people.

All this will be the task of the government, the National Assembly, and the next president, in other words, of all responsible people.

There has been a great deal of debate both currently as well as prior to this but mainly during the current weeks about our past. In my view things were good, less good, and bad. This requires an objective and conscientious analysis, which cannot be carried out in 24 hours, which will naturally concern various periods and persons, including me. We also have to see things around us in a broader context

In European socialist states there is currently taking place an endeavor aimed at renewing socialism, I would say at a renaissance of socialism. This seeking is common. I do not wish to name all countries, you yourself know, and each country is proceeding in accordance with its own conditions, traditions, and the like. What is being sought is, I would say, a present-day model of socialism or rather a model socialism appropriate to the present conditions. It is not ready-made anywhere. In our country, too, we have been searching and the search has been going on intensively during recent weeks. I think this was expressed at a general level most succinctly by Comrade Gorbachev during his recent speeches and in a recent lengthy article. These ideas have also been manifested in our country during the debates of the past few weeks. This is a task that will face us in the years to come.

I personally have believed since the years of my youth in the noble ideas of socialism. Where there were mistakes these were due to people and not the basic ideas of socialism. Even today I do not see in the world better basic ideas, the basic orientations to which I will remain loyal.

I want to thank everyone I have encountered and worked with in my more than 60 years of political activity for their cooperation, support, and trust.

I wish successful, democratic, and socialist development for our state and its people.

I hope for all of you that the crisis atmosphere will be overcome as soon as possible, so we can devote our efforts to creative work and the development of our country.

I hope for you that these issues are resolved in the main as soon as possible and that you have a peaceful Christmas and in the New Year we can all wish one another a happy New Year.

Roundtable Talks Held on Government Composition

Socialist Party Head Comments

LD0812144589 Prague CTK in English
1345 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—"Our party submitted a proposal for holding roundtable talks with representatives of all political parties, Civic initiatives, churches and the most important national front organisations already two weeks ago", Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera told journalists here Friday on yesterday's meeting of the Socialist Party Central Committee.

He said that these talks are due to be held till December 10. Socialist Party representatives met today with the Socialist Union of Youth Central Committee members to discuss preparation for the talks.

Communists Discuss New Government

LD0812211789 Prague CTK in English
2010 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—The roundtable talks started here today, attended by representatives of decisive political streams of Czechoslovak society. The Czechoslovak Communist Party is represented by party Presidium members and Central Committee secretaries Vasil Mohorita and Ondrej Saling, spokesman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium Josef Hora announced at the party press centre here today.

The meeting, the first of its kind, is aimed at seeking ways out of the present crisis situation, with equal participation of all forces.

The spokesman described the roundtable talks as an important form of seeking compromises which would be used also for tackling other serious questions of the life of society.

Speaking about the Czechoslovak Communist Party's stand on forming the new government, Josef Hora stressed: "members of the government must be competent and skilled, only then follows their political affiliation. Decisive political forces must be represented in the government. We proceed from the fact that after the elections a new government will be formed. Until this time, it is necessary for the government to ensure proper functioning of the economy and whole society".

The main task of the special Czechoslovak Communist Party congress is to elect a new Central Committee and adopt an action program, Josef Hora said.

As regards the demands for the resignation of Gustav Husak from the post of president, Josef Hora said that this question should be dealt with by political parties and movements which have a certain authority in society, and naturally by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

Asked how many former Czechoslovak Communist Party members asked for admission into the party, the spokesman replied that there are such cases but this does not happen on a massive scale. He also announced that several recreational establishments of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, for instance at the Orlik Dam and in the high and low Tatras will be handed over for use by means of travel agencies.

Participants Listed

LD0812211989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The second stage of the talks on resolving the current political situation resumed shortly after 2000 [1900 GMT] hours in the Palace of Culture in Prague.

Taking part in the talks are representatives of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak National Front and all five main political parties affiliated to it, the National Front organizations, and the Civic Forum and other initiatives as follows: Bohuslav Kucera, Josef Krejci, Vasil Mohorita, Ondrej Saling, Richard Sacher, Jan Skoda, Martin Ulcak, Vaclav Havel, Valtr Komarek, Vaclav Klaus, Jiri Dienstbier, Michal Kocab, Ladislav Kantor, Jan Carnogursky, Miroslav Kusy, and others.

Kucera on Consensus Reached

LD0912003989 Prague CTK in English 2308 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—"The talks strove for mutual understanding and for leading the country out of the crisis it has been experiencing for a long time", Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera said here today immediately after the end of the roundtable talks of political forces.

"Perhaps a solution is taking shape which could lead to quick calming down—not calming down of the development of democracy but to such a calming down in which we could conduct a creative dialogue", he said.

"It seems that such a consensus was reached which will enable Mr Calfa to form the new government. Each party, the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence will submit their proposals of which we have mutually informed each other. In my opinion, these proposals have no longer been controversial", he said.

Asked whether he accepted the demand that 50 percent of ministers in the government be without party affiliation, Bohuslav Kucera said: "Sure, we did our best to meet Mr Calfa's demands".

Calfa has Participants' Confidence

LD0912052789 Prague CTK in English 0049 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Mohorita stressed today after the talks dealing with the political crisis that Marian Calfa, a communist, won the confidence of all participants for forming a new government.

The new government will be a coalition, he said.

Asked whether President Gustav Husak would resign by Sunday, Mohorita said the president should first of all appoint a new government as his resignation would bring about a constitutional crisis which would be difficult to solve.

Asked whether he had any objection to Vaclav Havel becoming president, Mohorita said proposals regarding a new president had not been discussed. The Communist Party will express itself on candidates for the Presidency in the coming days.

People's Party Chief Secretary Jan Skoda said that the participants in the roundtable talks had agreed that the percentage of the representation of political parties and independent persons in the new government cannot be exactly defined.

Meeting Delayed

LD0912204589 Prague Television Service in Czech 2010 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Good evening; we had announced that at 2100 [2010 GMT] hours we would be carrying a live relay of the roundtable talks where Marian Calfa, first deputy premier, was to have talks with representatives of political parties and civic movements on the current government crisis in Czechoslovakia and its possible resoution.

Well, this roundtable is in fact a square one, because there is going to be a meeting in the hall which is known as the venue of many press conferences held by the Presidium of the federal government in the past.

Today, this hall has been chosen as the place where a fundamental agreement could be reached on setting up a government whose composition respects all the reasonable demands and views expressed in the last few days. It is not taking place right now, but in a few moments time, because the separate talks upstairs in Marian Calfa's study have dragged on somewhat.

Whether these few moments are going to amount to just a couple of minutes or half an hour, I really do not know, so we return the pictures and sound to the studios in Kavci Hory, and we will come back as soon as the meeting begins.

Premier Calfa Initiates Talks on New Government

LD0812185389 Prague CTK in English 1755 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Marian Calfa wants to form a government in which approximately a half of its members will be without any political affiliation, Government Spokesman Marcel Jansen told CTK today.

Marian Calfa wants the new government to be generally accepted and to be able to start work. This will, however, require certain time and that is why it cannot be expected that the composition of the new federal government will be announced in the first half of next week.

Marian Calfa, charged with forming a new government by President Husak yesterday, conducted his first consultations and talks today.

Begins Consultations With Parties

LD0912143489 Prague CTK in English 1338 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—First Deputy Premier of the Czechoslovak Government Marian Calfa started at 1300 GMT today further consultations with representatives of the political parties and civic initiatives about the new composition of the Federal Government.

Marian Calfa met with Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera. He will have further consultations with leading representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Civic Forum and the Socialist Reconstruction 'Revival' Club. The representatives of the political forces will have roundtable discussions tonight.

Kucera Comments on Calfa Talks

LD0912171389 Prague CTK in English 1529 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec (CTK)—Czechoslovak Socialist Party Chairman Bohuslav Kucera said after his one-hour meeting with Premier-Designate Marian Calfa today that the premier-designate strives to comply with the Socialist Party's requests to the maximum.

He described the talks as open, sincere and constructive. Asked whether he expected a government to be formed by tomorrow, the Socialist Party leader said he was convinced it would. He said his party wants to be represented in the new government by one deputy premier and at least one minister. The future government should be a government of national understanding and "we should proceed from this understanding while forming it", Bohuslav Kucera said.

People's Party Chief on Meeting

LD0912171789 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—Czechosklovak People's Party Chief Secretary Richard Sacher said after his discussions with Premier-Designate Marian Calfa today that the premier-designate sincerely strives to form a government that would enjoy public confidence and at the same time would be capable from the begining to fulfil its mission. He said the People's Party subordinates its own interests to efforts at a working government, and stressed that during their constructive discussion the two sides had arrived at a conclusion acceptable to both of them, the Czechoslovak People Party has the same requests as regards the forming of a government as the Socialist Party, i.e. the post of deputy premier and one ministerial post.

Roundup of Calfa-Parties Talks

LD0912182189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Talks continued again today in Prague on the formation of the new federal government. Moroslav Ditrich has this report:

[Ditrich] Federal Premier-Designate Marian Calfa held talks this afternoon with representatives of the political parties and civic initiatives on the formation of the new government. The talks were not easy, and they are in progress even as I speak. To sum up the results so far, the talks with the representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak People's Party took place to the full satisfaction of those involved. According to Bohuslav Kucera and Richard Sacher, both these parties will have one deputy premier each in the new government, as well as one ministerial post.

Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, also made a positive assessment of the talks, saying that the CPCZ's intention is to contribute to a government of national understanding. He did not convey any information about the specific number or the names of the ministers who are also CPCZ members, but he said that the CPCZ intends to retain, among other posts, the Ministry of National Defense because of Czechoslovakia's membership in the Warsaw Pact.

Marian Calfa is also satisfied with progress so far. He said that his intention is to form a stable government that suits all the component elements of our society.

Then Marian Calfa received a Civic Forum delegation headed by Vaclav Havel, which also included students' representative Simon Panek, Valtr Komarek, Radim Palous, Jan Carnogursky, and others.

As you listen now to the radio newsreel, talks are under way with representatives of the Renewal Club.

Calfa Comments on Talks

LD0912205889 Prague CTK in English 1844 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek told CTK after talks with Premier-Designate Marian Calfa today that his party's requests regarding representation in the new government had been accepted.

Urbanek said that Communist Party members had been recommended for government posts even by some other parties. He said that on grounds of Czechoslovakia's membership of the Warsaw Treaty the post of defence minister should be held by a Communist. "The other posts will be decided by Marian Calfa who enjoys our full confidence," he said.

Communist Party presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Mohorita, who was also present, added that if Marian Calfa's ideas come true, the new government will be functional and competent.

Marian Calfa told CTK that the participants in bilateral discussions would meet at a round table tonight. A government that would be supported by political parties and all civic initiatives could be appointed already tomorrow and begin constructive work.

The consultations were led by efforts to find a solution producing a government agreed upon by all sides. So far none of the participants in the talks had wanted to push through their viewpoints absolutely, Calfa said.

Government Composition Unveiled

LD0912223289 Prague Television Service in Czech 2052 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Good evening. I am reporting for the third and last time from the Federal Assembly Presidium building in Prague where the promised meeting of First Deputy Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa and representatives of political parties and civic movements is shortly to begin. They will hold a joint final meeting, following separate talks in the afternoon, about the solution of the current government crisis in Czechoslovakia.

At this moment the situation looks like all those taking part in the talks have agreed that, in the minutes to follow, representatives of each of the parties and civic movements concerned will speak very briefly. Afterward the talks will continue behind closed doors, so that we, and of course also you television viewers, will miss the most important thing, but we have to respect this agreement, this wish of the participants in the talks. I will only briefly say who is going to speak. It will be Marian Calfa, federal deputy prime minister; Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party; Dr Richard Sacher, a lawyer, will speak on behalf of the Czechoslovak People's Party; Vasil Mohorita will speak on behalf of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]; and, for the Civic Forum, although I do not have this confirmed precisely, it should be the writer, Vaclav Havel.

I believe all the places behind the table have now been occupied, so we shall therefore concentrate on the talks.

[CPCZ Press Department spokesman Miroslav Pavel] Esteemed people present, allow me to open our evening meeting from the Government Presidium Office building. I would like to introduce to you the designated prime minister, Marian Calfa, former first deputy federal prime minister, who will open our meeting.

[Calfa, in Slovak] Ladies and gentlemen, very difficult talks have been taking place throughout the day. I had talked with the chairmen and leading representatives of individual political parties, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the CPCZ, and, at the close, we had talks with Civic Forum representatives.

A short while ago these talks ended. I can announce that the result of these talks is an agreement on the composition of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Government. I stress: a full agreement.

Tomorrow morning I will propose, on the basis of my commission to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic president, to name the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Government's new composition. In this government there will be 10 CPCZ members, 2 Czechoslovak Socialist Party members, 2 Czechoslovak People's Party members, and 7 members without any party affiliation.

In a mutual agreement We called this government the Government of National Understanding [Vlada Narodneho Porozumenia]. Thank you.

[Pavel, in Czech] According to a preliminary agreement of all participants in today's talks, the representatives of individual political parties and civic initiatives will now express themselves regarding the course of the talks.

First, I call on Mr Vaclav Havel to speak. I have only one technical remark—to let yourself be heard you need to press the red button on the box over there, yes that one. Please.

[Havel] I can say for my part, and for the whole delegation of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence, which is the sister movement of Civic Forum, that the talks were very intensive, exhausting, complicated and, in my view, competent, which reached a result with which Civic Forum and Public Against Violence are satisfied, and which I believe was the maximum that could be achieved at the given time in view of the circumstances and at such a speed, so that the government can really be called what the prime minister called it.

[Pavel] I ask Mr Havel to pass the microphone to Jan Carnogursky, the Public Against Violence representative, so that he can confirm these impressions or not, as the case may be.

[Carnogursky in Slovak] I believe that the agreement reached today on the composition of the new federal government provides guarantees that conditions in the Republic cannot return to what they were before 17 November. At the same time, it provides conditions for ensuring that the path to establishing full democracy in Czechoslovakia can continue further.

It will be an important task of the new federal government to ensure that it realizes the possibilities and hopes vested in it by the public, and to create the political, legal, and factual conditions for holding free elections in the Republic as soon as possible.

[Pavel, in Czech] Thank you. I now ask Bohuslav Kucera, Czechoslovak Socialist Party chairman, to speak.

[Kucera, in Czech] I would also like to express my satisfaction with the talks which took place with the premier. I think from what he has told us now about the overall talks that this is really a government which, according to the standpoint of our Central Committee Presidium, approximately represents the alignment of political forces, and that therefore it can be called a government of national understanding. My wish for this government, then, is that this understanding does, indeed, prevail in the government, because without this understanding, of course, its work would be very difficult and complicated.

I would like to add that I am glad, as the Czechoslovak Socialist Party representative, that our idea of opening these talks round the table finds its expression in making it possible to reach that understanding.

[Pavel] Thank you; and I ask Vasil Mohorita, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, to speak.

[Mohorita, in Czech] Thank you, Calfa.

Allow me on behalf of the CPCZ to express my view regarding the proposed composition of the federal government. Above all, we are pleased that Comrade Calfa succeeded after all those difficult talks to form a government which really provides guarantees regarding the fulfillment of all the tasks which face the government in the present period. I would like to express the conviction that the Communists—proposed members of the federal government—will contribute toward making it truly a Government of National Understanding.

At the same time, I would like to join in with the words of brother Kucera that the cooperation of significant political forces should not end with this step—that we should meet also in future to tackle important questions of internal policy. Thank you.

[Pavel] Thank you. Please, Mr Richard Sacher, for the Czechoslovak People's Party.

[Sacher in Czech] The talks [passage indistinct, as Sacher not speaking to the microphone] It probably gives a rather realistic picture about the fact that the government can fulfill its function and that it will enjoy the vote of confidence of our public.

In fact, we are glad that these intensive talks were crowned with success.

[Pavel] Thanks to Mr Richard Sacher. Now I would like to ask the journalists to leave the room, orderly if possible, as the introductory part of our deliberations ends. Thank you.

[Unidentified correspondent] At this moment Miroslav Pavel, who introduced this, not exactly a news conference but a short introduction to the final talks, called on all the journalists to leave—you heard it—and the moment came therefore when we also had to leave the hall of deliberations. At the beginning I said that we might possibly be deprived of the most important and most interesting part of the meeting, but at this moment I think it is not entirely true—because what more interesting comments could we hear than the confirmation of a general agreement, the confidence of all the parties involved—both political parties and civic movements—in the newly formed federal government? We will hear more about its exact composition tomorrow. Thank you for your attention and we will meet again tomorrow on television screens.

New Government Announced

LD1012124289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1224 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, we apologize for interrupting our broadcast, but Oldrich Sestak has an important announcement to make. He will inform you about the composition of the new federal government:

[Sestak] Marian Calfa, prime minister, a CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] member;
Valtr Komarek, first deputy prime minister, a CPCZ member;
Jan Cernogursky, first deputy prime minister, without political affilation;
Frantisek Pitra, deputy prime minister, prime minister of the Czech Socialist Republic, a CPCZ member;
Frantisek Reichel, deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical and Investment Development, a member of the Czechoslovak People's Party;
Vladimir Dlouhy, deputy prime minister and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, a CPCZ member;
Josef Hromadka, deputy prime minister, without political affiliation;
Oldrich Bursky, deputy prime minister, minister of agriculture and food, member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party;
Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs, without political affiliation;
Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense, a CPCZ member;
Vaclav Klaus, minister of finance, without political affiliation;
Petr Miller, minister of labor and social affairs, without political affiliation;
Andrej Barcak, minister of foreign trade, a CPCZ member;
Frantisek Podlena, minister of transport and communications, a CPCZ member;
Robert Martinko, minister without portfolio, without political affiliation;
Richard Sacher, minister without portfolio, member of the Czechoslovak People's Party;
Ladislav Vodrazka, minister of metallurgy, machine building and electrical engineering;
Frantisek Pinc, minister of fuel and power, a CPCZ member;

Kvetoslava Korinova, minister-chairman of the Committee of People's Control, without political affiliation; and
Landislav Dvorak, minister in charge of the Federal Price Office, a member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

[Announcer] The post of one more deputy prime minister will be additionally filled by the Slovak premier. The post of the interior will be clarified at the news conference to be held this afternoon.

This was the composition of the new government.

Calfa Holds News Conference

LD1012194589 Prague Television Service in Czech 1438 GMT 10 Dec 89

[News conference by Federal Premier Marian Calfa at the Hotel Intercontinental in Prague, moderated by Miroslav Pavel, director general of Czechoslovak Television; various reporters' questions not always replied to individually by Calfa—live, Calfa in Slovak]

[Excerpts] [Pavel] Please be so kind and be seated, so that we can open the news conference. I am opening the news conference by the federal premier of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the government which was appointed in its new composition.

Allow me to introduce to you Marian Calfa, our federal premier. He will give a brief introductory statement and afterwards there will be time for your questions and answers.

[Calfa] Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to inform you that today at 1300, the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic appointed the federal government in the new composition. The forming of this government was preceded by very complex talks among all major political forces of Czechoslovak society. These talks culminated yesterday by a principle agreement at the table—which was not round, because we did not manage to quickly find one of necessary size—but it fulfilled the political function which we imagine under the conception of a roundtable. The result is a government of national understanding. The president appointed me as its chairman. The distribution of the ministries is as follows:

The first deputy premiers of the CSSR Government are Valtr Komarek, Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] member, for the sphere of economy; and Jan Carnogursky, independent of Slovak nationality, for the legislative sphere. Both premiers of the republican governments are deputy federal premiers. Other deputy premiers of the CSSR Government are Frantisek Reichel, member of the Czechoslovak People's Party, who is chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical and Investment development; Vladimir Dlouhy, CPCZ member, is chairman of the State Planning Commission; Josef Hromadka, independent, is deputy premier for the sphere of culture and churches. Oldrich Bursky, member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, is in the post of deputy premier in charge of the sphere of the ministry of agriculture and food.

The ministers of the federal government are: Jiri Dienstbier, independent, minister of foreign affairs; Miroslav Vacek, CPCZ member, minister of national defense; Vaclav Klaus, independent, minister of finance; Petr Miller, independent, minister of labor and social affairs; Andrej Barcak, CPCZ member, minister of foreign trade; Frantisek Podlena, CPCZ member, minister of transport and telecommunications; Ladislav Vodrazka, CPCZ member, minister of metallurgy, machine-building and electrical engineering; Frantisek Pinc, CPCZ member, minister of fuel and power; Kvetoslava Korinkova, independent, minister-chairwoman of the People's Control Committee; Ladislav Dvorak, member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party is minister in charge of the Federal Price Office; Robert Martinko, independent, and Richard Sacher, member of the Czechoslovak People's Party, are ministers without portfolio of the CSSR Government.

Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to inform you briefly of the principal tasks the government is facing:

First, the new federal government must, within the framework of its constitutional powers, do everything to prepare for free and democratic elections. Only such elections will justly measure the real distribution of political forces and will enable the formation of state bodies fully representing the people's will.

To achieve this objective, it is necessary to adopt a number of legislative measures in the field of human rights, electoral, assembly, association, press, and similar laws.

Second, the government has an irreplacable role in managing the national economy. We shall continue our efforts to radically reform the economy, which would lead society out of stagnation. The prerequisite is a stable functioning of production, trade, and services and the maintenance of social quarantees for the population. A task of particular importance is the finalization of a well-thought out and realistic program to achieve economic balance, including guarantees for anti-inflationary development, and the purposeful conduct of structural changes. In my view these are the two main tasks of our government.

Right from the beginning we are devoting great attention to the problems of the State Security corps. Our public must be absolutely certain that the entire Security Corps activity is under the control of the government. With regard to this, the seat of the federal minister of the interior has not been filled, and this ministry will be temporarily managed jointly by the premier and both first deputy premiers.

Our country lies in the center of Europe. It is a continent which experienced a long period of peace, which was based on a balance of forces. Many prerequisites exist nowadays for it to truly become a home for all states, peoples, and nationalities. Our government has contributed to European integration with a policy based on Czechoslovak national interests and which, at the same time, respects adopted international obligations.

Ladies and gentlemen! Czechoslovakia had lived through difficult days. Today we are able to say that the traditional high political culture of our peoples has been demonstrated. We found a way out of the crisis. The agreements between the main political forces, which were concluded yesterday, impose upon us many obligations. I believe that all participants in these talks, especially those who became members of the federal government today, are aware, just as I am, of the moral and political obligations to society which proceed from these agreements. The government of national understanding has undertaken an uneasy role. We shall be able to fulfil it only if we rise above narrow party and personal interests and when we put all our efforts toward benefitting the Republic and benefitting our people. Thank you.

[Pavel] I thank Premier Calfa for his introductory statement. Please state your questions now.

[Reporter] [Word indistinct], CTK. Comrade Premier, we heard that there was more than one candidate for your post. Could you tell us how many of them there were and who they were? And the second question. (?As for the organization) of the Ministry of the Interior, which you explained, is it temporary or will it be in force during the entire time of this government? We heard that Dr (Stanko) was a serious candidate to the post of the minister of the interior. Thank you.

[Pavel] If you please, Mr [word indistinct].

[Reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] There is a commission which deals with the minister of the interior. Who is, in fact, responsible for state security in this configuration?

[Reporter] Can you tell us how you were able to successfully formulate a government where your predecessor, Mr Adamec, failed?

[Pavel] All right, if you agree, we will have a short pause here and reply to the questions which have been put. [passage omitted containing repetition of questions]

[Calfa] I do not know how many candidates there were for the post of premier. The president of the Republic put me in charge of forming the new government. The president of the Republic gave me this task as first deputy premier at a time when the premier had resigned. In the talks on the composition of the government, the proposal was made that Richard Sacher should be federal minister of the interior, and he is a member of the Czechoslovak People's Party. After a lengthy discussion and mutual exchange of views, we came to the conclusion that it would not be appropriate for this ministry to be directed by a member of any party. Therefore, is was proposed that the resolution of this question be shelved, and this was done.

As far as State Security is concerned, at this stage it is not being taken out of the sphere of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and the Federal Ministry of the Interior, as a whole, is directed by the premier, together with the two deputy premiers. In the future we do not rule out, of course, the possibility of a solution whereby some components will be taken out of the sphere of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and it will be directed separately.

On the question of how I succeeded where Premier Adamec did not, I want to say that I think that we reached a stage where all the sides were showing every effort to demonstrate a constructive will to resolve this situation. Prior to that time, that kind of approach evidently was not there.

[Pavel] Thank you. More questions please?

[Reporter] I am from ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY. What was the most difficult moment in drawing up the new government? And my second question is will there be any fundamental restructuring of the program of activity of State Security right now, or not until after free elections?

[Pavel] Czechoslovak Radio, do you have a question?

[Czechoslovak Radio reporter] In the federal government named on 3 December, Minister Viliam Roth was put in charge of the media. Now I would like to know who is in charge of the media in this new government?

[Reporter] One more question: What is the new federal government's view of the new economic mechanism, which is to come into operation as from 1 January?

[Pavel] Yes, thank you, and you.

[Reporter] Miroslav Kusy was appointed director of the State Office for Press and Information, but there is uncertainty as to whether he is a government member, or where this office in fact is. Is he member of the government or not?

[Pavel] Yes, thank you, and you.

[Reporter] I would like to ask the prime minister whether more women have been proposed to the government, as women are represented by merely a sole woman. What is the situation?

[Pavel] Yes, thank you.

[Reporter, in English] When will free elections take place in Czechoslovakia?

[Pavel] If you will allow me, we will pause, since several questions have already been put forward.

[Calfa] The talks that took place yesterday, and which concluded the whole series of previous talks, lasted more than 4 hours. The most critical moment of those talks was the search for a solution as to who is going to take charge of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. As you can see, we also succeeded in overcoming this difficulty, and we have found a solution.

The question of what is the position with regard to the restructuring of the Security Service, whether this will happen now or after the elections, I do not see any direct relationship. We must find a solution to how we reshape internally the apparatus of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, in such a way as to ensure that its activity is under a supervision. We regard this as our priority task, and this is why we think that we shall have to resolve it by the time of the elections.

Regarding Mr Kusy and Mr Roth, who up to now was a member of the government very briefly, we agreed that this post, which entails a membership in the government, which Mr Roth held, will be abolished. It will be taken over by the chairman of the Federal Office for Press and Information, and the government appointed Mr Kusy to this post a short while ago. The Federal Office for Press and Information is a federal central authority of the state administration, which is headed by an official apointed by the government, and this official is not a member of the government. However, we envisage that the work of the Federal Office for Press and Information should change qualitatively, and we are considering, for the future, turning it into a ministry, which would be headed a member of the government.

As far as the new economic mechanism is concerned: Mr Komarek, a well-known and important expert in this field, became the first deputy premier of the government. We have had not time yet to exchange our views on these questions; we are to meet tomorrow afternoon. Understandably, Mr Komarek has views that are a bit different to the federal government that was working up to now.

As far as the appointment of women is concerned, to my great sorrow nobody presented any other proposal, and I did not dare to choose by myself.

When are the elections going to take place: We would like to have them the very moment that we are prepared for them. What is needed for this? To prepare new election laws, and to put these forward for the widest possible assessment by the public, so that these laws are formed according to all the people's concepts. As soon as this law is adopted, we will begin to organize the elections—I am unable to say at this moment exactly when. Personally, I think that they could take place roughly toward the end of the first half of next year. I think this is realistic.

[Pavel] Please, further questions.

[Reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] [Word indistinct] DAILY EXPRESS. Providing that President Husak really resigned, can you tell me if you assume that Vaclav Havel will be elected by the federal government as president? And if not—who else could be elected as president?

[Reporter] CTK—Prime Minister, I would like to ask you if it is possible to expect, and if so when, a program statement from your government to the Czechoslovak parliament. I would also like to know how you envisage the cooperation with the Czechoslovak legislative and representative body in the next few days to come. Thank you.

[Reporter, in Slovak] PRACA—the organization of physical training and youth at the highest level, that is, on the level of the ministry, was also discussed. Is the formation of this body envisaged in the near future or not? The second question concerns the appointment of individual members of the government. You spoke about the fact that the government would have a high degree of specialization and a high professional standard. Do you also think that the minister of labor and social affairs meets this criterion?

[Reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] You said that all members of your government should avoid narrow interests. Do you personally feel bound to the CPCZ in the course of your entire service in the government?

[Reporter] As the head of the government, what in fact were your feelings toward your minister of foreign affairs, who was imprisoned three times in the past by your government—for 3 years [correcting himself]—for his ideas, which he in fact still expresses today.

[Pavel] Let us try to answer.

[Calfa] Yes, President Husak resigned from his post. I am not able to say if, in this hour or this minute, his letter containing his demission has been delivered to the Federal Assembly according to our Constitution, or not yet. After the inauguaration of the new government, I spoke with President Husak, and he confirmed to me his decision.

The person who will be the new president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will be decided by the supreme representative body, according to our Constitution, in 2 week's time; it has to decide then. Until that time, the functions of the president of the Republic are being taken over by the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

As far as the government's policy statement is concerned, because the Federal Assembly must proceed to elect the president of the Republic within 14 days, we consider that at this session of the Federal Assembly, too, the government should present its new policy statement, clearly in shortened form, because the activity of this government is, after all, limited by the date of the elections and the establishment of new legislative bodies.

As for cooperation with parliament, this has its established constitutional forms and methods, and there is no reason to change these.

On the question of who will be in charge of the organization of young people and their upbringing, I must say that at the moment this consideration has faded into the background to some extent, because we have been tackling much more urgent issues; nonetheless, I acknowledge that we will have to return to this point soon.

On the question of whether Mr Miller fulfills the qualification, requirements, or demands on a specialist in the federal government: I think he does.

On whether I am answerable to the party, too, for my work in the government: I am a member of the CPCZ, and this has undoubtedly had its influence on the choice of me as a member of the government. I can say, however, that the fundamental condition of the success of the talks that I have conducted was that for me, all the political parties, including my own, were on the same level, and I did not allow myself to be influenced by any of them. That is the position I want to maintain in the future, too, and I have made that quite clear.

On my feelings toward Mr Dienstbier: I must say that from the human point of view, they are feelings of profound regret. I know that this will be no consolation to Mr Dienstbier just now, but I wish him to know what my position is, and that is why I am publicly declaring it. Nonetheless, I think that we can work together very well, and we have also agreed to do this.

[Pavel] Yes, a question from the BBC?

[BBC's Misha Glenny, in Czech] Is it true that it has been agreed during the roundtable talks that the next president must be a Czech and a nonparty member, and will the government ask the Federal Assembly to discuss the presidential post immediately?

[Pavel] Yes, and next?

[Reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] Prime Minister, will your government be restricted in its decisions regarding political and economic issues? I have in mind, for instance, forms of ownership, in view of the fact that you are having to face a parliament which at present is not representative?

[Reporter] You have said that Czechoslovakia has experienced difficult times. Why difficult, and if so, who is to blame for the fact that these times were rather difficult?

[Pavel] Thank you; some more questions.

[Reporter, in Hungarian with superimposed Czech translation] My question is whether the new government will change its view with regard to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory; will you open up to Western Europe and the Common Market; and third, do you want to ask for economic assistance for your economy from the West?

[Reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] I work for FINANCIAL TIMES and do not know whether this question should be addressed to the prime minister or to Mr Pavel, but, in any case, the television management is still in the hands of the Communist Party. Do you regard this as a problem, was this discussed at the roundtable, and do you intend to change the management of the media before the elections?

[Pavel] Thank you.

[Calfa] With regard to the president, whether he will be a Czech and whether he will be a nonparty member, the government is not constitutionally in the position to propose to the Federal Assembly a candidate for the post of president. The president of the CSSR is elected by the Federal Assembly, which discharges in this its sole legitimate role. From the fact that I, as a citizen of Slovak nationality, have become the prime minister, it is apparently assumed that a citizen of Czech nationality should become the president. A citizen of Slovak nationality can equally become the president and the result may be that a citizen of Czech nationality may become a prime minister. This matter is still to be considered further and has not yet been decided.

Regarding the question of whether we are restricted in decisions about ownership: In our country all forms of ownership are consolidated in legal norms which are approved by the legislative body. At this moment we do not propose to the legislative body any changes in the forms of ownership. We do not exclude this happening in connection with the adoption of the new Constitution, but this of course will be approved by the legislative body which will emerge from new elections.

Why have I characterized the period in which we have been as difficult and who caused it to be difficult? This question is very difficult to answer, and I beg you to understand me correctly. We have all caused it—both those who ruled in a certain way, and those who tolerated such a rule. Every change in such a situation is difficult for the life of a person, but the word difficult does not mean that this is not a happy change. This is why I would not interchange such words.

With regard to the withdrawal of Soviet troops, a report was published in our press that we have opened talks with the Soviet side at the level of the deputy foreign affairs minister on the treaty on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops. At the same time we have, however, stated that this question must be resolved within the broader context of disarmament talks in Europe.

Whether we want to ask for economic assistance from the West? Of course, I have been the prime minister only a few hours, a few hours. These are matters which we will have to analyze. One thing is, however, clear, which is that we are prepared to open up, to open up broadly to mutual cooperation in the economic sphere. Not only this: We want to open up to the world and want to call on all our citizens who have emigrated abroad in any wave of emigration, to return to Czechoslovakia, to visit

Czechoslovakia, to invite them and tell them that our country's doors are open to them, and that we shall be glad to see them here.

As far as the question of television management is concerned, and even though it was put to the television director general, I would like to say one thing. Yesterday during the roundtable, the civic initiatives representatives were also proposing the CPCZ members as members of the new government. They have arrived at the consensus that it is not the party affiliation but a personal approach to solving the situation that is of decisive importance—for there can be a conservative nonaffiliate and there can be a progressive and reformist party member. The latter type is more aceptable to us. This also concerns the tackling of the question of television.

[Pavel] Please allow me to add to this brief bit of information. Czechoslovak television has convened for tomorrow the political programs council, to which we invited all principal political sections of our society. The purpose of this session will be to clarify the rules of the game for access to Czechoslovak television programs by people holding all political views which exist in Czechoslovakia. And now for the last round of questions.

[Reporter] Czechoslovak television, (?Hrabovsky), television news. I would like to ask whether it is true that during the latest talks, or in the last few hours, the possibility of a strike in the food industry and the threat to food supplies for the capital was in the air or also played its role?

[Pavel] Thank you. Excuse me, someone on the right-hand side wants to speak. If you please.

[Reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] (?Patrick Brown), CBC Canada. If Vaclav Havel is proposed for the post of the president, will this be acceptable to the Communist Party and will you personally vote for him?

[Reporter] Mr Premier, do you think that during your future government changes will take place in your foreign policy toward developing countries, especially toward the countries with which your country has close relations, both political and economic. Thank you.

[Pavel] Thank you. Over to you, if you please.

[Reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] (?Davic Locke) LOS ANGELES TIMES. Much has been said of late about the 17 November events and about the possibility of criminal proceedings against those responsible. Did the government discuss this, or was this discussed at the roundtable? How should it be implemented? Is there any minister in the government who has been put in charge of justice in this matter, so to speak?

[Pavel] The young woman in the back. Mr (?Mazal), you are not the young woman in the back. [laughter]

[Reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] When you said that the question of the president will be on the agenda later, will this again be a discussion at the roundtable, or where will this be discussed?

[Pavel] Mr (?Mazal), ask your question.

[Reporter] The question of a unified Germany.

[Pavel] And the last question. Mr (?Negly)—it's yours. Voice of America. [laughs]

[Reporter] Mr Prime Minister, the last free elections in 1946 lead to a situation in which 8 out of 24 ministerial posts went to Communists. And now you have 10 out of 21. It was one-third then, and now it is almost one half. However, you do not have the leading role—you did not have it then either—but you probably do not have a mandate even now. Why are you then still the biggest force in the government? Is it because the opposition did not ask for more than seven ministerial posts or that you still simply wanted to be the biggest force in Czechoslovak policy?

[Pavel] So this was the last question.

[Calfa] Regarding the question of whether the possibility of a strike in the food industry played a role in decision-making: No, it did not play a role—I did not have this information at my disposal, and nor can I check if it is correct or not.

Regarding the question of whether it is—or will be—acceptable to the CPCZ if Vaclav Havel is the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: I am not here as a representative of the CPCZ—I stressed this once already—I am the premier of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and I do not assume the right to speak on behalf of any political party.

The changes in international policy: Undoubtedly a certain process of humanization, opening up, a more humanistic and humane approach, will begin in this entire sphere. I answered in this sense here several times already. Of course, this entire sphere will begin to change qualitatively in a certain way, and form in a new way. Mr Dienstbier is qualified enough to create a new conception in this sphere.

As far as the events of 17 November are concerned, and court proceedings—if there is a minister in the government in charge of this issue? As I said: An investigation of these events is under way, and the inquiry is carried out by the investigation system, which is not linked to the executive power and therefore nor to the government. It is under the control of the Federal Assembly, with the participation of students and representatives of Civic Forum. If this investigation leads to the conclusion that somebody committed a crime—according to my view as well as according to this state's law—then such a person should be tried and an independent court should determine an appropriate sentence. There is nobody in the government in charge of this issue. I draw your attention once more to the fact that those in question are the systems independent of the government.

The question of the president was not discussed at the roundtable. We discussed at the roundtable questions about the composition of the government, and I can say that this filled all time we had at our disposal. Undoubtedly there will be other roundtables, and the will exists to discuss all important political questions that need to be tackled in this society.

Regarding the question of the unification of Germany, I would like to allow myself to return to this question later—I need to acquaint myself with this problem more thoroughly. In any case, Czechoslovakia has its own historical experiences with its western neighbor.

Why does the CPCZ have the most weight in the government? I would reply that we adopted a conclusion that the government should consist of people who are capable of carrying out the work of the government in the new conditions, and that is why the Civic Forum representatives also proposed CPCZ members for the government. So it is not a matter of a polarization of forces in the government according to membership of the CPCZ or not. The government should consist of people who should genuinely carry out a new, reformist, humane, and genuinely populist policy. That is the spirit in which we have worked and intend to work in the future, too.

[Pavel] Thank you for your interesting questions, and I look forward to meeting you next time. Goodbye.

New Ministers Discuss Tasks

LD1012234589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] We now present the views of the new Government ministers on the work of the different ministries for the immediate future. The first to speak is Federal First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek:

[Begin Komarek recording] Of course this means a great deal of work—effecting and formulating a rather more upbeat concept of our economy than we have been used to so far; this will need to be thought through. I think it is necessary and possible to formulate a concept that will protect us from inflation, because people are rightly worried that the KCs should not lose its value, that they should not lose their savings, that the value of their pensions should not be undermined. I think we can maintain a firm currency, reduce the amount of money circulating in the national economy, gradually open up the economy both to export and to the influx of foreign goods onto our markets so as to improve choice, and make the kind of structural changes that will not rebound on our workers with the oppressive burden of unemployment. I believe that the hopes for an upturn in the economy, from this gradual decline upwards to a favorable outlook, although it will require a lot of effort and certain sacrifices in some sectors—simply that these optimistic expectations of the people can gradually be fulfilled. [end recording]

Federal First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky told us the following:

[Begin Carnogursky recording, in Slovak] I will have to familiarize myself, of course, with all the problems of my department. In view of my duties, I will have to take steps, evidently very quickly, in many important legislative projects in which I will have to set up the legal conditions for the political system in Czechoslovakia to operate in a democratic way. [end recording]

Vladimir Dlougy was appointed to one of the federal deputy premier's posts, the one which is also that of chairman of the State Planning Commission, and this is what he told us:

[Begin Dlougy recording] First of all, I am glad that a government was formed yesterday which was aptly named a Government of National Understanding. I think that the immediate task is to ensure continuity of this understanding, plus, of course, to get on with all the tasks facing the Government, in line with how I understand the aims of my work in the department which will be entrusted to me. [end recording]

Now listen to what Josef Hromadka, another federal deputy premier, had to say:

[Begin Hromadka recording] I do not know what situation I find myself in, because until this moment I was the deputy premier in charge of culture, education and church affairs. In my view it is very important—assuming that I remain in this same post—that we should not lose even a single day, but really get on and address the very foundations of building democracy in our country. There is a lot to be done in the spheres of legislation on the churches, culture, and the arts unions—they must develop their own creative activities—and also in the sphere of education. I will be going back to the tenets of Komensky [Commenius, the 17th-century founding father of humanism and education]. [end recording]

Now we have Oldrich Bursky, federal deputy premier and minister of agriculture and food:

[Begin Bursky recording] I think that our agriculture is one of the ministries which, up to now, has been coping with its tasks. This can be seen in the shops, in the satisfaction of the people with the farming produce they can buy. I think that the agriculture ministry in the future will have to gradually—but as soon as possible—make good the deformations which have arisen as a result of our management-by-directive system in this department. I think that farmers should manage their own department without directives from people who do not, in effect, understand agriculture. As for myself, while working as a district vet, I have encountered the unfavorable consequences of just this kind of interference by incompetent people. Here I mean, in particular, the building of large-capacity livestock sheds which pursued one single aim: That of cramming as much livestock into the buildings as possible so that they can be tended by the smallest number of people, but the physiological demands of the livestock were not taken into account at all, and as a result this had repercussions on the animals' health and yields. In crop production we see the enormous tracts of monocultures which, of course, have a negative impact on our countryside, so first of all the agriculture ministry needs to correct these negative trends. [end recording]

[Announcer] The new foreign affairs minister is Jiri Dienstbier. Here is his reply to our question about how he envisaged the immediate tasks of his department:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] I think that we have an excellent opportunity, as a country lying in the center of Europe and after what we have carried out here—this gentle revolution as it is being called—to really be one of the cornerstones, one of the most important stones in the construction of what is sometimes called the European home, or what we could call European unity. Because we have an appropriate instrument here in the Helsinki process, and I think that we ought to try above all to carry this Helsinki process through to its conclusion, in the sense that the security and, in general, the concept of international relations that has been based on two power blocks, must be replaced by a new concept of security, a concept based on general cooperation within the framework of this entire process. [end recording]

[Announcer] In charge of the state's finances in the new federal government is Vaclav Klaus, and he answered our question like this:

[Begin Klaus recording] As you know very well, the aim of our work must be to revive the Czechoslovak economy and bring it back into Europe where it used to belong, and where we firmly believe that it still belongs and must belong in the future too. In the short term, however, this is something which we cannot achieve overnight, but in the immediate term we must counter some unwise steps that were taken recently, so as to prevent the economy from destabilizing, and not to worsen the initial conditions which we have for the time being. [end recording]

[Announcer] We also invited Petr Miller, the new minister of labor and social affairs, to the microphone:

[Begin Miller recording] [Words indistinct] I have made a resolution that I will try to combine the theoretical knowledge of the experts with my own practial knowledge, which I have built up over more than 30 years of work, wherever possible. I will try to combine what has been thought out and put into practice, so that it is more pleasing to everyone, including to the people who work there and to whom it applies. [end recording]

[Announcer] And the last new minister who we managed to snatch a few words with in our microphone is Richard Sacher, federal government minister without portfolio:

[Begin Sacher recording] From my point of view, I think that the most important thing is to put in place the kind of mechanisms, checks, and balances that will never allow a return to totalitarian power. Then I think that everything has to be done to win the trust of the people in this new Government, and that means the whole spectrum of society, including believers. I am a believer and a Catholic, and I think that if there are several believers in the Government, as there are in fact, then this is an important factor for the 5 or 6 million people [believers], a stabilizing factor in this society. [end recording]

[Announcer] Those were the views of the new federal government ministers immediately after their appointment.

New Government Holds First Plenary Session

LD1012215689 Prague CTK in English
1945 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—At the first plenary session of the new federal government this afternoon, Premier Marian Calfa said: "We are a government which must express through its policy common interests of our nations and nationalities and at the same time lead the whole Czechoslovak Socialist Republic through the way of stabilized progress in the interest of democracy and socialism and justified interests and aspirations of all Czechoslovak people."

During the discussion on the government program, tasks concerning implementation of the economic reform and preparation of bills on basic civil rights and freedoms, particularly the freedom of assembly and association, were stressed. The government must prepare together with the legislative bodies election laws as quickly as possible without reducing their quality, and subsequently, prepare thoroughly new free elections.

The Czechoslovak government approved a statement on legal principles of its activities in the sphere of political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights which reads as follows:

"On the occasion of the day of human rights and in connection with the topical demand to create a democratic legal order which will be the basis for the government program, the Czechoslovak Government declares that it will respect in all its auditing and law-making activities provisions of the international pact on civil and political rights and the international economic, social and cultural rights which are obligatory for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, but which have not yet fully penetrated into our legal order, the less into real life."

The government therefore entrusted its members with respecting the commitments resulting from these pacts for Czechoslovakia and supposes that these commitments will also be respected by state bodies which are not controlled by the government, mainly the justice and prosecutors' offices.

The Czechoslovak Government will quickly prepare bills on the freedom of assembly and association, a bill on the press and an amendment to the defence act and submit it to the Federal Assembly.

The federal government relieved Zdenek Cermak of his function of the chairman of the Federal Office of Press and Information and appointed Miroslav Kusy to this post.

Communist Party Spokesman on New Government

LD1012161889 Prague CTK in English 1452 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Support for the new Czechoslovak Government as formed by premier designate Marian Calfa is being voiced by participants in the current meeting of about 30 representatives of the National Front. Press spokesman for the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Josef Hora told journalists here today.

He voiced the conviction that the ten members of the Communist Party holding ministerial posts will be among those who will, through their technical, political and moral qualities, help make this cabinet become really a government of national understanding. After experiences from the previous "round table" talks, the Communist Party is convinced that this form will become a lasting democratic way of joint solution of important political issues. Hora recalled that the proposal for talks of representatives of political parties, national front organizations and other social movements and initiatives was submitted by Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek during his meeting with representatives of the Civic Forum. The composition of the new government gives the necessary guarantees that society will progress and never return back before November 17.

Speaking of the Communist Party district conferences held during the weekend, Hora said that they were characterized by care for the further fate of the party and socialism in Czechoslovakia. They were very frank, criticism being addressed to the former party leadership, incorrect methods of its work, and little operativeness of party bodies. The conferences voiced support for the Communist Party action program up to its 18th congress. The debates were matter-of-fact and constructive. The delegates demanded that the party be cleared of career seekers and other compromised members.

It was stressed that the party must become united and be rid of everything outdated so that it becomes attractive again. The conferences voiced support for the present party leadership and for the calling of an extraordinary congress as soon as possible. Many delegates praised the share of students in speeding up the process of reforms, and voiced readiness to participate in a dialogue with all those seeking to actively share in the restructuring of society and development of democratic socialism.

The party spokesman also announced that weapons and ammunition owned formerly by People's Militias have been taken to the stores of the Czechoslovak People's Army and that all material that could be characterized as serving military purposes its being withdrawn from plants so that it cannot be abused. This withdrawal will be completed by December 20, i.e. by the opening of the Communist Party extraordinary congress.

CTK Gives Biographies of New Government Members

Federal Premier Calfa

LD1012143789 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Following are the biographies of Czechoslovak Federal Government members:

New Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa was born on May 7, 1946 in Trebisov, East Slovakia, in a family of a railway man. In the years 1964-1970 he studied at the Faculty of Law of Charles University in Prague.

After graduating from the university he worked as a lawyer in the Czechoslovak News Agency for two years. From 1972 he worked in the office of the Government Presidium at the Legislative Department. In 1983 he was appointed head of the Department of Economic Law and in 1986 head of the Legislative Department and secretary of the Legislative Council of the Czechoslovak Government. From 1987 he worked as deputy head of the Office of Government Presidium.

From April 21, 1988 to December 3, 1989 he was minister without portfolio of the Czechoslovak Government. From April 1988 he was simultaneously chairman of the legislative council of the Czechoslovak Government. On December 3, 1989 he was named Czechoslovak first deputy premier. On December 7, 1989, after the resignation of Ladislav Adamec, he was charged by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak to form a new government.

He has been members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party since 1964. He has been awarded the state prize for excellent work.

First Deputy Premier Carnogursky

LD1012150489 Prague CTK in English 1422 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Dr Jan Carnogursky, the first Czechoslovak deputy premier, was born on January 1, 1944 in Bratislava. He graduated from the law faculty of Charles

University in Prague in 1969 and received his doctor's degree in 1971. After finishing his military service in 1970 he worked as a lawyer in Bratislava until 1981. He was dismissed from the bar for defending Drahomira Sinoglova, charged with the offence of sedition. In 1982-86 he worked as an enterprise lawyer in Bratislava. From 1987 he was unemployed. While working at the bar he was a member of the Slovak and Czech Central Barristers' Offices. Jan Carnogursky is without party affiliation.

Deputy Premier Dlouhy

LD1012150889 Prague CTK in English
1442 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Vladimir Dlouhy, a Communist, was born on July 31, 1953. He studied at the school of economics, at the faculty of mathematics and physics at Charles University and at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium.

He worked as lecturer at Prague School of Economics, from 1983 as scientific worker in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and recently as deputy director of the Prognostic Institute of the academy.

His works dealing with economic policy and economic growth were published both in Czechoslovakia and abroad. He is member of several international scientific societies.

First Deputy Premier Komarek

LD1012152689 Prague CTK in English
1457 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek, a Communist, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, was born on August 10. 1930. In 1949-1953 he studied in the Soviet Union and in 1954-1963 he worked in the State Planning Commission where he held a number of posts. At the same time he passed scientific candidature and habilitated as a dean at the Prague School of Economics. Disputes with the State Planning Commission in conducting elaboration of basic structural changes and the economic reform resulted in his departure to Cuba where he worked as an adviser of Minister of Industry Che Guevara.

At the beginning of 1968, Valtr Komarek was named to the post of general secretary of the Economic Council of the government and at the same time charged with heading the National Economic Secretariat of the government presidium. In 1969 he was relieved of these posts. In the 1970s he worked at the Federal Price Office and in 1978 at the Economic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. In 1984, he was charged with constructing the Prognostic Institute of the academy and at the same time with working out a general prognosis of the development of Czechoslovak society and economy till the year 2010.

Finance Minister Klaus

LD1012234989 Prague CTK in English
1515 GMT 10 Dec 89

["Klaus Biography"—CTK Headline]

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Vaclav Klaus was born June 19, 1941 in Prague. In 1963 he graduated from the School of Economics and worked in the Economic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague till 1970. At the end of 1970 he was dismissed from the Academy. In 1971-86 he worked in various functions in the Czechoslovak State Bank and since 1988 he has been a leading scientist of the Prognostic Institute of the Academy of Sciences. He is member of the Coordinating Centre of the Civic Forum.

Vaclav Klaus studied in Italy (1966) and in the USA (1969). He often gave lectures at foreign universities. Many of his works on general economic problems, especailly on finances, currency, inflation and economic reforms in the socialist countries have been published both in Czechoslovakia and abroad.

Vaclav Klaus is without political affiliation.

Deputy Premier Bursky

LD1012234889 Prague CTK in English
1517 GMT 10 Dec 89

["Bursky biography"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak deputy premier in charge of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Oldrich Bursky was born in Kyjov, South Moravia, on October 17, 1933. After graduating from the University School of Veterinary Medicine in Brno he started to work in the Regional Veterinary Hospital in Kromeriz.

Since 1961 he worked as a local and later as a district veterinary physician in Hodonin district and since 1975 he has been head of a specialized veterinary centre for large-scale cattle breeding.

He has been member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party since 1959. He held various functions in a primary organization in Kyjov, in a district committee in Hodonin and in the South Moravian Regional Committee of the party. Since 1984 he has been chairman of the regional committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the Party Central Committee since December 7, 1989.

In 1986 he was elected deputy chairman of the Czech National Council.

People's Party Chief

LD1012234489 Prague CTK in English 1519 GMT 10 Dec 89

["Sacher Biography"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Dr. Richard Sacher was born September 1. 1942 in Upice in East Bohemia. From 1956 he worked in a textile factory, later in mines and as a driver. He joined the Czechoslovak People's Party in 1968. In 1969 he became secretary of the district committee of the party in Trutnov. He worked as head of a department of the secretariat of the People's Party Central Committee and was head of the Central Political School of the party for six years. He was external student of a secondary economic school and of the faculty of law of Charles University where he received his doctorate. In 1988 he was dismissed from his job for criticizing the stagnation of the People's Party activities.

Richard Sacher is an active Catholic and one of the main initiators of the revival of the Czechoslovak People's Party. He has been elected chief secretary of the party.

Labor, Social Affairs Minister

LD1012230189 Prague CTK in English 1521 GMT 10 Dec 89

["Miller-Biography"—CTK headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Petr Miller, independent, was born in Prague on June 27 1941. He was trained to be a blacksmith in the engineering industry and worked in the Tatra Smichov factory in 1955-1958.

After finishing military service he started working in the CKD factory in Prague-Vysocany in 1962. In 1967-1968 he attended education courses and passed his GCE [general certificate of education] examination. In 1969 he was enrolled at the School of Economics majoring in foreign trade and was forced to quit his studies due to the normalization process in 1970.

At present he works as a blacksmith in the CKD factory and is a representative of CKD's strike committee in the Civic Forum. He is a member of an action group of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre.

Minister Martinko

LD1012182289 Prague CTK in English 1526 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Minister of the Czechoslovak Government Robert Martinko, independent, was born in Spissky Stiavnik, east Slovakia, on April 2, 1936. After finishing secondary school in Spisska Nova VES he studied at the faculty of electrical engineering of the Slovak Technical College majoring in telecommunications.

After graduating from the college in 1960 he started to work in the assembling telecommunications enterprise in Bratislava as a foreman, then as a works foreman and later as head of the engineering department. In 1971 he started working in the central management of telecommunications in Bratislava, now the administration of post offices and telecommunications, where he has been so far head of the department of development of a single telecommunications network.

Civic Forum Statement on New Government, Talks

LD0712165289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Statement issued by the Civic Forum Coordination Center and the Public Against Violence Coordinating Committee, read by Professor Zdanek Jicisnky, issued in Prague on 7 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Here is the statement of the Civic Forum Coordination Center and the Public Against Violence Coordination Committee:

Last night Mr Ladislav Adamec, federal premier, appeared on television and radio. He indicated that Civic Forum and Public Against Violence had issued an ultimatum about naming a new government and that they had issued threats. This is not true.

Civic Forum and Public Against Violence have been negotiating with Mr Premier in a considerate way. We did not voice any specific demands in connection with the naming of the new government last Sunday although we had been asked to do so.

We only recommended that the composition of the new government should reflect the fact that the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] had lost not only its constitutionally-expressed leading role in society, but, above all, the confidence of the public.

We also recommended that the new government should be a government of experts. Only then, i.e. when the Premier realized that his new government did not meet with the support of the public, and invited us to fresh deliberations, did we put to him, at his explicit wish, proposals for the possible reconstruction of the new government.

Following agreement reached between us and himself, we made these proposals more specific and delivered them to him this morning.

Only in the case of 7 ministerial offices, out of a total of 21, did we propose specific names.

Mr Premier was the first one to start talks with us. It is he who wants to reconstruct the government and who is responsible to the general public for its change. If he resigns who will lead the government up to the point when his successor will be sworn in by the president of the Republic? He is responsible for the work of the government these days no matter what.

It is clear that the crisis was evoked by a badly composed government and not by us. We do not push through our proposals, we do not force anybody to accept them hastily. We simply want to help mr premier in the interest of the entire society.

As the way out of the economic crisis is not the half-hearted way drafted by the former leadership, we are offering Mr Premier the strength of our best economists who have been working for years on a better alternative. We are not interested in provisional arrangements and insecurity. We do not want a constitutional crisis. We want to follow a peaceful way to democracy and prosperity. We want the next government be a government of national salvation and not of national disaster. We are prepared to put forward to the general public our proposals made so far and also voice recordings of all talks immediately.

We shall be speaking on the television and radio this evening and we shall explain what we want and why. We shall not let ourselves be discredited because we understand the discreditation of our effort as the overlooking of peoples' will.

Talks 'Very Constructive'

LD0812192989 Prague CTK in English
1810 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Talks of representatives of decisive political forces on solving the present political crisis in Czechoslovakia started at 1500 local time here today, according to a communique of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre.

The talks, held in a very constructive manner, have been interrupted upon agreement and will continue at 2000 tonight, the communique said.

[Passage omitted] After the second part of round-table talks today dealing with the situation in the country, which lasted 90 minutes, the sides involved issued a statement saying that considerable agreement had been reached on the spirit in which the participating sides will negotiate the composition of a new government with premier-designate Marian Calfa.

The participants agreed they would meet the premier-designate on Saturday night (December 9). They were agreed in hoping they will succeed in helping the new premier so that his government of national understanding may be sworn in on Sunday December 10.

Briefs Press on New Government

LD1012231489 Prague CTK in English
2139 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Civic Forum representatives briefed tonight Czechoslovak and foreign journalists on a communique on the composition of the new government. The Civic Forum expressed in the document its satisfaction with the results of the complicated discussions of the country's political forces.

The Civic Forum supposes that the government will ensure legislative steps which will make it possible to prepare and hold free elections. That it will ensure the operation of economy, create prerequisites for the implementation of a real economic reform, ensure the activities of the state administration and prevent the misuse of state power against citizens. Naturally the new government does not reflect the division of political forces in today's society. It is a result of necessary compromises. It was created in a tense atmosphere. Nevertheless the Civic Forum is convinced that it is necessary to support it as a whole in the fulfilment of the tasks, the communique said.

Civic Forum representatives announced that Vaclav Havel said in connection with his presidential candidature that if he is elected he wants to be in function only till the free elections. They informed that tomorrow's general strike was recalled and that artists end their strike.

The presidential elections will take place within 14 days. The Civic Forum does not propose Alexander Dubcek for this function because it was agreed during the talks with political parties that in the interest of preserving parity—because the premier is Slovak and Communist Party member—the president should be Czech without party affiliation.

Commenting on the future activity of the Civic Forum its representative said that it should continue minimally till the free elections and guarantee them.

The Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence supported the Civic Forum proposal for the candidature of Vaclav Havel for the function of the country's president till the democratic elections.

Civic Forum Demonstration in Olomouc

LD0812234189 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2030 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Another Civic Forum demonstration took place early this evening on Peace Square in Olomouc. The participants warmly welcomed the announcement that after 24 hours, the Council of the Olomouc Municipal National Committee had acceded to the demands of Civic Forum and had resigned today.

Striking students from Palacky University [in Olomouc] spoke about their activities today at the demonstration in front of the buildings of the District Czechoslovak Communist Party Committee and the Political Education Center in Olomouc, in front of which they built a high wall of cardboard boxes daubed with topical slogans.

The participants in the demonstration demanded, among other things, the resignation of President Gustav

Husak, and also commemorated the anniversary today of the death of John Lennon.

Civic Forum Appeal Urges End to Wiretapping

LD1012010289 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] According to information provided by the coordination center of the Civic Forum, cases of wiretapping and disinformation of communication media continue to be reported. That is why the coordination center of the Civic Forum feels the need to appeal to the minister of transport and communications with this appeal:

We ask Frantisek Podiena, the minister of transport and communications, to take into account that the present situation is not the state of military preparedness of the state and speedily secure organizationally an end to the abuse of special communication systems and services which can be used during the military preparedness of the state and now are being misused against the Civic Movement.

Minister Denies Wiretapping Charges

LD1012015289 Prague CTK in English 2330 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of Transport and Telecommunications Frantisek Podlena denied on the TV tonight he had ordered or agreed with the tapping of telephones throughout the whole term of his office.

"Throughout the whole term of the office of minister I never gave an order or expressed agreement with any tapping of telephone calls and I quite definitely dissociate myself from such an activity", he said.

"These days when the question of tapping telephones was raised I presented a truthful report on the technological equipment which exists in selected places and the legal norms for its possible use. At the same time I ordered that strict observance of legal norms and operation regulations must be ensured and that verification in the whole network of the Czechoslovak telecommunications must be carried out in this respect", he said.

If by any chance there are cases of tapping telephones as a result of an individual violation of legal norms and telecommunication operation regulations "I am ready to immediately draw the strictest possible conclusions", he added.

PAV Dissatisfied With New Slovak Government

LD0712193889 Prague CTK in English 1748 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 7 (CTK)—The Public Against Violence (PAV) has been acquainted with a draft composition of the new Slovak Government which did not satisfy it. Therefore the work continues on the draft today, PAV Coordinating Committee representative Jan Budaj said at a press conference given by the PAV here today.

He stated that the PAV will strive for a dialogue with representatives of the National Front.

Calls on Hrivnak to Resign

LD0812165189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] At today's meeting of Public Against Violence, Jan Buday told journalists about a meeting held between representatives of the movement and the Slovak Government at which the movement raised objections to the new government's composition and asked Prime Minister Pavel Hrivnak to resign. Asked on what conditions Public Against Violence would withdraw its call for a general strike planned for 11 December, Jan Buday said that this would happen after agreed-upon conditions were fulfilled. He also confirmed that the general view of the office of the president is that Gustav Husak should resign.

The meeting was also addressed by Richard (?Sim), a representative of the Office of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council, who reminded that if the government is to be formed of new well qualified people, more time is required.

Government Members Resign, Recalled

LD0812200389 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1740 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] As we have reported already, intensive talks have been going on in the Slovak National Council in Bratislava today on the formation of the new Slovak Socialist Republic government. Editor Ladislav Balko has been following the talks:

[Begin Balko recording] A truly working atmosphere prevailed in the Blue Room of the Slovak National Council building today, accompanied by the all-round interest of all those who took part in it to help to resolve the demand raised by our public at the present time.

Around 0900, representatives of the movement Public Against Violence—Milan Kniazko, Jan Buday, Jan Cernogursky, Kamil Prochazka, and others—took their seats around the table, along with Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council; the deputy chairmen of the Slovak National Council; and Pavol Hrivnak, who is, as I speak to you, the former Slovak premier.

Although we journalists were not present at this consultation, as Pavol Hrivnak put it, it was leaked to us that the present prime minister resigned his office and left the talks. Afterward, representatives of individual political parties met. I saw Pavel Bolvansky, chairman of the Slovak Communist Party Action Committee, and Jozef Simuth, chairman of the Slovak Revival Party. I also caught sight of Anton Balaz and Josef Sirotnak, of the Freedom Party. Representatives of the Action group of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee Presidium then came to the Slovak National Council building to present that body's stance.

The talks lasted almost 4 hours. When the participants were leaving, they talked about the closeness of their consensus on the formation of a new SSR government.

The Slovak National Council Presidium met at Bratislava Castle later in the afternoon. Under the chairmanship of Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council, it recalled Slovak Prime Minister Pavol Hrivnak from his post. It then recalled the following members of the Slovak government: Stefan Murin, from the post of first deputy prime minister; Vladimir Lexa, from the posts of deputy prime minister and Chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development; Ivan Steis, from the post of minister of construction and the building industry; Pavol Koys, from the post of minister of culture; Anton Molnar, from the post of minister of health and social affairs; Stefan Urban, from the post of minister of industry; Julius Varga, from the post of minister of agriculture and food; and Vladimir Margetin, from the post of minister of forestry, water conservancy, and the wood processing industry.

The Slovak National Council Presidium also accepted the resignations of Milan Cic, from the post of minister of justice; Frantisek Miseje from the post of minister of Finance, prices, and Wages; Ludovit Kilar, from the post of minister of educational, youth, and physical training; Stefan Lazar, from the post of minister of the interior and the environment; Kazimir Nagy, from the post of minister of trade and tourism; and Stefan Ferencei from the post of minister chairman of the Committee of People's Control. Thus, all the members of the Slovak Government either resigned or were recalled.

The Slovak National Council Presidium then empowered Milan Cic to form the new Slovak Government, the composition of which then will be discussed by the Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, since this will be in accordance with the National Front's law on government.

The Slovak National Council Presidium is to meet again in the castle at 2000, and it is possible that the new government will be sworn in.

One more bit of information from the meeting of the Slovak National Council Presidium: In accordance with Paragraph 31, Section 5E of the Slovak National Council's law on procedural order, it took the note of the resignation of the following Slovak National Council Deputies: Ernest Bielik, from Pezinok constituency No. 15; Juraj Busa, from Dunajska Streda constituency No. 18; Petronela Visnovcova from Sahy constituency No. 28; Julius Hanus, from Tlmace constituency No. 21; Jaroslav Algayer, from Nove Zamky constituency No. 39; Karol Savel, from Jablonica constituency No. 42; Jozef Kovac from Hlohovec constituency No. 57; Viliam Salgovic, from Banska Bystrica constituency No. 63; Jan Gregor, from Ruzomberok constituency No. 77; Frantisek Miseje, from Prievidza constituency No. 89; and Branislav Biros, from Bardejov constituency No. 109. Afterward, the Slovak National Council Presidium announced by- elections to the highest representative body of the Slovak Socialist Republic in the vacant constituencies, and set the dates as 26-27 January 1990.

'No Reservations' on Cic

LD0812213689 Prague CTK in English
2016 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 8 (CTK)—We do not have reservations to the charging of Academician Milan Cic with forming the new Slovak Government and expect that the new government under his leadership will meet the demands of the Slovak public aiming at creating conditions for real free elections and for practical realization of democracy in Slovakia."

This point was stressed by the Public Against Violence (PAV) in its stand on the question of constituting the new Slovak Government.

"The Public Against Violence will carefully watch the steps of the new government," the stand stressed.

As regards the personal composition of the government, the PAV expects that its members will be skilled persons who are not compromised.

Puts Forward Demands to Cic

LD0812215689 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 2030 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The civic initiative Public Against Violence held a press conference in Bratislava today. Editor Ladislav Lukac reports in greater detail:

[Lukac] [Passage omitted] Now, I will give you the information delivered by Kamil Prochazka, press spokesman of the Public Against Violence:

[Begin Prochazka recording] In the course of talks with the new premier-designate of the Slovak Government, the representatives of Public Against Violence put forward some specific problems which should solve the discrepancy between the hitherto valid legal order and the real situation, specifically concerning the approval by the new premier of citizens gatherings being organized by the Public Against Violence at public places throughout the Slovak Socialist Republic; the approval of citizens association in political parties, clubs, and other organizations; the approval for periodical, as well as occasional press publications to be published by political parties, clubs, and other organizations—providing these publications do not promote violence and pornography.

In two other points, Public Against Violence demanded that an opportunity to put up candidates in by-elections be given not only to the political parties and organizations of the National Front, but also to Public Against Violence and to newly formed political parties, clubs, and other organizations. Independent citizens also should have an opportunity to become candidates, provided they show an adequate number of votes in support of their standing in elections.

Last among the demands we put forward is to abolish with immediate effect the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Office of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic as a form of state control over churches. [end recording]

Agreement Reached on Makeup

LD0812231289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The coordinating committee of the Public Against Violence, at the meeting with the chairman of the Slovak National Council, representatives of political parties, and Academician Jan Cic, empowered to form a new Slovak government, has reached an agreement on the relative representation in the government. The Communist Party of Slovakia will have six members, the Freedom party one, the Slovak Revival party also one, and there will be nine members on the new government without party affiliation.

Budaj, Knazko Read Standpoint

LD1012223789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] We now will acquaint you with the standpoints of the Public Against Violence [PAV] Coordination Committee, which were read out on Czechoslovak television today by representatives Milan Knazko and Jan Budaj.

[Begin recording] [Budaj] Allow me to convey to you the standpoint of the PAV Coordination Committee. Since the question of who will be the new Czechoslovak president has been placed on the table, we have noted the voices who were—apart from the only candidate, Vaclav Havel—proposing other political figures, for example Alexander Dubcek and Cestmir Cisar. With regard to the fact that none of these candidates did not publicly seek the post of the president and with regard to the parity of the representatives of the Czech and Slovak people in the highest posts—the premier of the new Federal Government is Slovak—we gave our backing to the Civic Forum's proposal for the nomination of Vaclav Havel as president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the period until the 1990 democratic elections.

We consider Vaclav Havel to be important political figure of high moral qualities. In the present situation, we are convinced that it is unavoidable for the contenders for the post of the president of the Republic to present their programs to the public. Regardless of which candidate the Federal Assembly will decide on, we hold the view that the newly elected president should hold this post only until the 1990 democratic elections.

[Knazko] The standpoint of the PAV Coordination Committee on the strike planned for Monday, 11 December 1989. The developments in recent days have shown that it is possible to tackle the internal political crisis through negotiations between the representatives of the civic initiatives and those of the political parties and the government. We therefore propose to change tomorrow's general strike to a gesture of nationwide support for the civic initiatives PAV and Civic Forum, which are pushing for a democratic future for Czechoslovakia in the talks. May everyone who supports their efforts demonstrate this by a form of protest, by sounding sirens and car horns, and by ringing bells tomorrow, 11 December, between 1200 and 1205, without jeopardizing the running of production. [end recording]

CPSL Action Committee Meets, Releases Cic

LD1012215189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] At its session in Bratislava today, the action committee of the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] dealt with the proceedings of party's extraordinary district and ward conferences and with the preparation for the CPSL extraordinary congress. It released Milan Cic from his membership in the Action Committee at his own request.

CTK Interviews Slovak Civic Activists

LD0812234789 Prague CTK in English 2108 GMT 8 Dec 89

["Interview With Activists of Slovak Civic Initiatives"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Jan Carnogursky, suggested for the post of deputy premier by the Civic Forum, said today the first thing he would do as a statesman would be to settle the issue of legal guarantees for speedily holding free elections which, he said, could take place next March.

Asked what a new federal government should look like, Carnogursky said it should either be formed completely by the opposition which would take over political responsibility for it or the opposition should have sufficient scope in it for being able to control the speedy course of democratic reforms.

As regards economic reform, Carnogursky said he favoured a step- by-step pace, adding he was against an excessive influx of foreign capital. Enterprises employing large numbers of people will have to be maintained as their collapse would have serious social consequences.

Asked whether he would include communists in the government, Carnogursky said he would form a government only if the opposition took political responsibility for it. Then communists would not have to be in it. The Communist Party, if it were in opposition, would naturally have far greater rights than the present opposition, which would be more convenient for it than if it were represented in the government, he said.

Asked for his view of Czechoslovakia's membership of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Carnogursky said that before Czechoslovakia decided to solve questions of its security and economic integration otherwise, it would have to examine other possibilities and use them only after being certain that these correspond to it interests.

Political scientist Miroslav Kusy stressed in his interview for CTK the need to form flexible state apparatuses and strengthen the sovereignty of national republics, with the Federal Government playing only a coordinating part.

An economic reform must follow up a political reform and not the other way round. He said it will probably be necessary to work out three separate constitutions, which must contain all international conventions concerning human rights and guarantees of a law-observing democratic state.

Commission Chairman on 17 Nov Security Action

LD0812202489 Prague CTK in English 1942 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Chairman of the parliamentary commission supervising investigation of the events of November 17 Jozef Stank, told Czechoslovak television and CTK that the action of November 17 was clearly an organized one and not accidental or chaotic steps of individual members of the security forces.

The commission seeks to formulate proposals which would prevent repetition of the situation of November 17, he said, adding that the commission will propose to the houses of Parliament amendments which will change some present laws and regulations.

Jozef Stank supposes that as to the criminal liability, the names of individual offenders will not be made public as it is counter to the Czechoslovak law, but as to the political responsibility, the names will be included in the report. The military section of the Czech General Prosecutor's Office has started criminal prosecution of concrete offenders.

Answering the question whether the parliamentary commission will ask former Interior Minister Frantisek Kincl to tell the Commission the name of the functionary who gave, as Kincl had said at the Communist Party extraordinary session, order to intervene, Deputy Stank said that the commission tried to contact Frantisek Kincl today and he himself phoned him, but the former minister is out of Prague at present and moreover, he is ill. He added that he will try to contact him and ask to give information. Kincl should take part in Monday's session of the parliamentary commission.

Further From Stank

LD0812214889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The joint parliamentary commission to scrutinize the investigation of the events of 17 November 1989 in Prague, held its eighth meeting today since its establishment. Vaclav Klement put the following question to Jozef Stank, the commission's chairman and a deputy of the Chamber of the People:

[Begin recording] [Klement] Representatives of the independent investigation commission have attended your meeting today.

[Stank speaking in Slovak] The commission invited this students' independent investigation commission. We wanted to get from them all information they possess, and in fact we have offered them the platform of our commission so that we would in fact attain the self-same objective which both commission have in common—that is, that they clarify as objectively as possibly the entire situation so that this would naturally lead then to measures that would exclude something similar in future, and I believe we won this commission over for such cooperation.

[Klement] Has this independent commission already brought any results of their work?

[Stank] The results of their work act decidedly as a stimulus for the further direction of our commission. They heard many participants in that demonstration. I believe around 300. This, of course, cannot be compared with what our commission heard, far from it. For me the important thing was that during the hour we talked an atmosphere of a certain mutual trust was created, and their decision to cooperate with us, I believe, testifies to this unequivocally.

[Klement] The daily press has published the standpoints of Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan on their role in the events of 17 November. Have you taken any stand on them?

[Stank] We are trying to react to every stimulus, every letter we received in our commission. We have reacted today to these two stands in writing. The commission has approved a written reply.

[Klement] Several hundreds of young people gathered this morning in front of the Federal Assembly building, for the second time this week. As was apparent from their banners, they came to give their support to the commission in its effort, and you talked to them.

[Stank] Yes, I must say that this second meeting with young people, students, took place in a more pleasant atmosphere. It was felt that they really support us and I believe that it was felt that they are also beginning to trust us now. This is decidedly encouraging. I tried to explain to them what the commission is concerned about, what results it has reached. We summed it up briefly. I was not the only one to be present; two more members of the commission were there, among them Janko Bubenik, who had many of his fellow students there and who also spoke to them. Deputy Ladr was also there. From what they said to us, from their reactions to our answers, I believe that they saw that we are not trying to hide anything, manipulate, or camouflage things, or avoid giving answers. [end recording]

[Announcer] I wish to add that when asked by journalists whether the commission would ask Frantisek Kincl, the former interior minister, to provide the name of the highly placed official who had given instructions for the action, Deputy Stank said that they tried to contact Frantisek Kincl today but that he is at present outside Prague, and moreover is ill. He should however attend next Monday's meeting of the parliamentary commission.

Strougal Resigns From Federal Assembly, Party

LD0912143289 Prague CTK in English
1326 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—"Being aware that the current composition of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia does not any more correspond with the political division of forces which it should reflect. I consider it my duty to resign from the function of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly deputy and to make it possible to restore the parliament as quickly as possible in a way which will be in harmony with the will of society", former Czechoslovak premier said in his statment for CTK today.

"Parallelly I have decided to ask to be relieved of the function of member of the Communist Party central committee with the aim to support the efforts of the new leadership at party revival."

"I want to stress that these steps are not an escape from responsibility. Any time I am prepared to account to responsible bodies for my activities in supreme state and party functions", Lubomir Strougal stressed.

New Chairman To Be Elected 12 Dec

LD1112140589 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1300 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Federal Assembly held a session in Prague today. In view of the fact that the chairman of our highest legislative body has resigned, the Presidium decided to convene a joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations for tomorrow to elect the new Chairman of the Federal Assembly.

The meeting, which will start at 1700, will also discuss other topical political and legislative issues.

Interior Minister on Demonstration, Security

LD0912144489 Prague CTK in English
1412 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—The Federal Ministry of the Interior and all honest police members apologize to students for the interference against their demonstration, said a statement handed over to CTK today by the Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Frantisek Pinc.

"Nothing like this will repeat in future. We support the creation of a real democratic society," the statement stressed.

Police [are] now fully subordinated to the Government as a collective body. Individual parties and social forces can exert their influence on security forces only through collective decision-making of the government and the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia. "In harmony with the constitutional changes I consider it correct and democratic to suspend the activities of all party organizations within the police corps", he stressed.

The only criterion for the selection of new police members will be, besides the necessary health and age demands, only moral and civil probity and real interests in the work, the statement pointed out, and underlined the need for uncompromising struggle against corruption and bribery and abuse of power.

The political apparatus has been abolished. The Czechoslovak counterintelligence is being reorganized. Its main contents will be the protection of constitutional rights and interests of the citizens. It will also protect, similarly as in other countries, the national and state interests against the activities of foreign intelligence services and above all a consistent struggle against all forms of terrorism. Curricula at specialized schools of the Ministry of the Interior will be changed to correspond with the amendments of the Czechoslovak Constitution, the statement said.

Havel, Others Address Wenceslas Square Rally

LD1012200689 Prague CTK in English
1700 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Nine members of the new Czechoslovak Government are directly supported by the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence (PAV). Two of them are Communist Party members whom the Civic Forum has directly recommended to the government, writer Vaclav Havel said at Wenceslas Square here today.

Addressing a rally which took place to mark today's day of Human Rights he further said that the Civic Forum also fully supports two members of the Czechoslovak People's Party. "We are happy that Jan Carnogursky, a real political spokesman for the Slovak nation, and Valtr Komarek are the first two deputy premiers of the Federal Government. Together with other Deputy Premier Vladimir Dlouhy and Vaclav Klaus, minister of finance, they create an economic team which is a guarantee of the path towards real economic reform," Vaclav Havel stressed. Adding that the Civic Forum is "happy that the Charter 77 signatory and Civic Forum spokesman Jiri Dienstbier is foreign minister and CKD [expansion unknown] worker Petr Miller minister of labour and social affairs."

He also voiced the Civic Forum and PAV support to Richard Sacher from the Czechoslovak People's Party and said that the premier and his two first deputies will be temporarily in charge of the Ministry of the Interior. Signatory of the Charter 77 Miroslav Kusy will be chairman of the Federal Press and Information Office, Vaclav Havel stated and continued that the Civic Forum "is of the opinion that by right this government is called the government of national understanding. It is obviously a provisional government which is to lead our country to free elections in which our nations for the first time in many decades will freely elect their representatives to all representative bodies." Vaclav Havel emphasized and announced that President Gustav Husak resigned today.

Miroslav Kusy then addressed the participants in the rally on behalf of the Public Against Violence. Stressing that a new fraternal unity of the Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities, which had been only proclaimed before, has been created these days.

Former Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek spoke of the significance of the Day of Human Rights, an anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the U.N. General Assembly.

Actress Vlasta Chramostova read a message of the Polish Civic Committee of the Office of the Chairman of Independent Trade Unions 'Solidarity' addressed to the Civic Forum and signed by Lech Walesa. Polish trade unionists expressed solidarity with and support for the democratic changes in Czechoslovakia.

Representative of the striking students Simon Panek appealed to the whole nation and the Federal Assembly to elect a president whose personality would guarantee that no violence will be repeated in Czecoslovakia's society.

Actor Jiri Bartoska stressed that the president must be not only a symbol but must protect the will of both nations and guarantee a new future as well. The best man who fulfils all these demands and who is able to stand the test of today's situation on a high moral level is playwright Vaclav Havel, Bartoska underlined.

The candidature of Vaclav Havel was supported also by Miroslav Kusy on behalf of the Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence.

Worker Ales Vancura read the standpoint of the Civic Forum on Monday, December 11, recalling the appeal for the general strike. Instead the statement proposed to express joy in connection with the results achieved the hooting of sirens and tolling of bells at 11.00 GMT for five minutes. This decision was made by the Civic Forum in consequence of the fulfilment of several demands and the appointment of the new government of national understanding, he said, and stressed the need for free elections.

The rally was ended by the national anthem sung by director of the national theatre, national artist Ivo Zidek together with some 150,000 participants in the rally.

Trade Unions Central Council Plenum Opens

LD0912154589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 9 DEC 89

[Text] The 9th plenary meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions opened in Prague today. Vaclav Klement reports on its deliberations:

[Klement] At the beginning of the session, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions Karel Henes briefed those present that at yesterday's meeting the Presidium recommended to finish its activity as of today and to set up, under the leadership of the chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, an action committee which will decide upon the program and date of holding an extraordinary trade union congress. This is to contribute towards solving the current complicated situation and reviving the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. Our dependence will be and will have to be only dependent on the interests and rights of people, Karel Henes stressed. If trade unions are to fulfill their mission they must, above all, free themselves from the burdens of the past, carry out basic personnel changes and build a new trade union structure.

The extensive discussion, which is continuing, resounds with views to the effect that trade union organization has betrayed its name, that it is vacating its positions, and that it would be a mistake if trade unions remain without leadership until the extraordinary congress. Views predominate in the discussion saying that it is necessary to maintain unified trade unions, completely independent of political parties and state organs, in which democracy will work as it should. The morning deliberations also openly revealed that the new economic situationm, based on market economy, will not only bring economic advantages, but will also affect employment and living standards of the people. Only strong and united trade unions can defend their interests. The afternoon's agenda includes elections of the new trade union organ.

Presidium Resigns

LD0912191989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council (CTUC) resigned today at its ninth plenary session, and an Action Committee was set up to decide on the agenda and date of the extraordinary trade union congress. Vaclav Klement reports on the proceedings:

[Klement] A total of 38 members and two candidate members resigned from the CTUC's plenum and presidium. The Action Committee, which will function until the extraordinary congress, consists of 11 members, two of whom have no political affiliation, two members of the Czechoslovak People's Party, two from the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and five Communists. Karel Henes, CTUC chairman, was elected to head the committee, the deputy chairman is Vaclav Chovanec, a rolling-mill worker from the NHKG steelworks in Ostrava-Kunica, and the secretaries are Petr Kraus and Jan Skrobanek. Another 17 members from the different trade unions are yet to be appointed to the Action Committee. The extraordinary congress is being prepared for January, and it was said at today's meeting that it ought to take place in the first half of that month.

The CTUC Action Committee has issued an appeal to all members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (RTUM), asking among other things for them to decide for themselves, through their own activity, about the future of the RTUM, its program, character, and organizational structure. [passage omitted]

Austrian Border Crossings, Barriers Taken Down

New Crossing Opens 8 Dec

LD0712161789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The Federal Ministry of Interior and the Central Customs Directorate have announced that a temporary auxiliary border crossing Jarovce-Kittsee [in Austria], near Bratislava, will open tomorrow.

The crossing, which will be open from 0700-2000 hours seven days a week, will serve exclusively Czecholovak and Austrian citizens.

The new border crossing has no facilities for issuing entry visas to foreign nationals.

40,000 To Cross Border

LD0912143789 Prague CTK in English 1416 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—Some 15,000 mostly Czechoslovak citizens have crossed the borders with Austria by 0800 GMT this morning at the border crossing in Mikulov, South Moravia, using the possibility of visa-free travels.

The 40,000 persons, the highest number in history, will cross the borders in both directions by Saturday midnight, according to information. Czechoslovak tourists are very disciplined.

Fencing Dismantled in Areas

LD1112133689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1105 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Deep internal political changes are also having a favorable influence on the protection of our frontiers. This morning members of the frontier guard began removing fencing and other technical equipment on some sectors of the Czechoslovak-Austrian frontier. Jaroslav Rektor reports:

[Rektor] The first phase concerns the passport control areas in Satov, Hate, and Hevlin in the Znojmo area and also in Mikulov and Breclav. Being removed are posts, barbed and other wire, barbed wire obstacles, and other equipment.

It is symbolic that following significant changes in the state administration the end has come for these unfortunate and for some time now undignified remnants of the fossilized system. The iron curtain, an expression which many of our former representatives and officials did not wish to hear in the past, is crumbling. It is crumbling in the same way as the old thinking of those who always had a lot to say about the creation of a joint European home but in reality did everything to undermine its fragile foundations.

The first phase of removing frontier blocks in the area of five passport control points on the South Moravian part of the border with Austria should be completed by the end of this year. The public will be informed on time about further progress according to Colonel Plevak, commander of the Znojmo frontier guards.

2 Dec Party Press on Political Situation

AU0812213389

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 December carries the following items related to the current domestic political developments, in addition to items that have been processed separately or that are covered by previously filed items:

On page 2, it publishes a 250-word roundup of correspondents' reports on the conversion of party facilities in various parts of the country into facilities serving the general public. The paper's Central Slovakia correspondent reports that the Central Slovakia Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Regional Committee has "recalled all students and pedagogues" from its Regional Political School in Banska Bystrica and that the "further fate of this modern building complex" will be determined in a "public discussion." The correspondent also mentions that local authorities propose that the Banska Bystrica CPSL District Committee's House of Political Education be converted into a press center and the Banska Bystrica Regional National Committee's "accommodation facility" into a hotel. The North Moravia correspondent reports that the construction of a new building that was to house the North Moravia Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Regional Committee, the

Ostrava CPCZ City Committee, and the House of Political Education of the Ostrava CPCZ City Committee was suspended on 29 November. The bulk of RUDE PRAVO's pages 4 and 5 is reserved for statements, resolutions, and letters responding to the domestic political situation, many of which continue to express disagreement with statements made by opposition representatives during the televised public rallies in Prague. Members of a military unit from Prachatice, for example, criticize the fact that "only the Civic Forum is given space" in the media and demand that "the voice of Communists be heard on Czechoslovak Television, the Czechoslovak Radio, and in the daily press." A letter from members of the strike committee at the Agricultural College in Prague protests against an attempt to "misinform people in the countryside" about the aims of the Civic Forum. The letter mentions that before the start of the Congress of the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives on 1 December, the delegates "received from unknown sources an envelope containing a survey of the annual earnings of our best-known artists" plus a forged copy of a research paper by the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The students view this as "an attempt to stir up hostile feelings against artists and researchers from the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences." On page 6, RUDE PRAVO carries a 700-word unsigned commentary entitled "Responsibility Above All." The commentary takes issue with some statements made by Valtr Komarek, director of the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, at a news conference in Prague on 30 November, such as his comparison of the power structure in Czechoslovakia "with the last 15 years of the rule of Franco's falanga, which was sowing bombs of fear among the intelligentsia and the nation." The commentary asserts that "it is hard to accept such words from a man who, even though he did run up against miscomprehension, held important leading positions in the past years, and still holds them, had the chance to publish a dozen books in Czechoslovakia and abroad plus a large number of research papers, spoke at official forums, and acquired eminent scientific titles in those years." The commentary then lists all the important positions held by Valtr Komarek in the last 21 years, including his membership of the CPCZ Central Committee's National Economic Commission. It also points out that the results of the Forecasting Institute's research "did not remain on paper" but found their way into the draft documents prepared for the 18th CPCZ Congress. On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word interview with Miroslav Havel, director of the Office of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Presidium. The interview deals with preparations for an extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which should, among others things, "discuss the course to be pursued in rehabilitating Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences members, workplaces, and employees who have been discriminated against for political reasons; consider cadre changes in Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences bodies; and discuss the expeditious publication of those scientific works which have not been published for political reasons." According to Havel, the question of restoring membership in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences concerns 15 people, including Professor Jiri Hajek, former minister of foreign affairs, and Professor Ota Sik. Also on page 6, RUDE PRAVO carries a 250-word unsigned commentary entitled "A Witchhunt?" Responding to leaflets and slogans which "anonymously scandalize [people] and stir up an atmosphere of fear and psychological terror," the commentary warns against "McCarthy-style witchhunts." On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word report on sessions of the South Bohemia and North Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committees held on 1 December. Vaclav Sipek, leading secretary of the North Bohemia regional party committee, reportedly "dissociated himself from the policy of the former party leadership" and proposed that the party's regional political school in Usti nad Labem be "handed over for the needs of the planned faculty of medicine." On page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries, inter alia, a 250-word report on Mikhail Gorbachev's comments on the Prague Spring of 1968 made at a news conference in Milan.

On page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 120-word report on a session of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czech Union of Journalists [CSN] in Prague on 1 December, which declared as "nul and void" the cancellation of membership in the CSN of journalists who "were prevented from executing their profession after 1968 because of their political convictions and activity." The session also invited representatives of other groups of journalists, such as the Association of Independent Journalists, the Club of Independent Journalists, and the Initiative Group of Prague Spring Journalists, to participate in preparations for an extraordinary CSN congress. On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word report on statements made by ex-premiers Strougal and Cernik on Czechoslovak Television on 30 November; a 200-word report on a session of the Czech Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, which elected Petr Churan as its new deputy chairman; and a 200-word report on a statement issued on 1 December by the Preparatory Coordinating Committee of the Czechoslovak Green Party on Czechoslovakia's "ecological crisis."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 2 December on page 2 carries a 250-word report on an extraordinary congress of the Union of Slovak Creative Artists in Bratislava on 1 December, which accepted the resignation of the union's Presidium and Central Committee, endorsed the demands of "civic initiatives," called for the resignation of the Slovak Government and "the entire leadership of the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of Culture," as well as for the rehabilitation of all artists and art critics victimized on the basis of the "Lessons" document. On page 2, PRAVDA also carries a 700-word report on the 1 December "mass rally of Bratislava students and citizens." The report mentions, among other things, that the rally was told that the mayor of Bratislava had made available to the Public Against Violence movement premises in Bratislava's Jiraskova Street. On page 3, PRAVDA carries a 900-word Lubos Kriz commentary entitled "How To Behave." Kriz contends that in the present situation when Communists are "on the knees," their only chance of raising to their feet again is to "part ways in principle and once and for all with the deformations of the past." This means to dissociate oneself from "all party members in leading posts who have failed and have been exponents of hypocrisy, formalism, abuse of power, and incompetence," to demand a "revolutionary cadre renewal of party bodies and the apparatus," and "to vote from below delegates with a clean moral record and natural authority." Also on page 3, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 100-word report on the demand by the striking students and the management of the Hus Faculty of Theology that their faculty be incorporated into Charles University; a 700-word announcement by the Slovak Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training on changes in admissions to secondary schools, which mentions, among other things, that the students' personal evaluation sheets [osobna charakteristika zaka] will be abolished; as well as a 150-word report on a session of the Central Committee of the Union of Slovak Composers and Concert Artists, which accepted the resignation of the union's leadership. The report also mentions that the session "voiced distrust in Minister of Culture Pavel Koys and those leading functionaries of the state administration who, acting at variance with the objective needs of the cultural front, have deformed the development of our music and lost the moral right to execute their functions." On page 6, PRAVDA carries a 200-word CTK report mentioning that the management of the Balnea organization has requested the Czech Minister of Health and Social Affairs Prokopec that "spa facilities in Karlovy Vary, Frantiskovy Lazne, and Marianske Lazne that have so far served only a narrow circle of functionaries" be used to treat all citizens.

SED Holds Special Party Congress in Berlin

Congress Opens

LD0812181789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany opened in Berlin this evening.

Modrow Delivers Speech

LD0812203889 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1805 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Speech by Premier Hans Modrow at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany special congress in East Berlin—live]

[Text] Dear comrades, naturally, to discuss the situation in the country means, in the first place, to speak for and with our party. The delegates, who were elected to this extraordinary party convention from all parts of our country, met. We were elected after critical debate and often after long and public differences of opinion. This benign, painful process was the start of the reckoning with the past which can and should not be forgotten; and by a hope, even a will, at the same time became clear by this election of the party congress delegates. Let this party which harks back to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelmann and Rudolf Breitscheid, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grothewohl, not break up or die, but let it be made clean and strong. [applause]

Let it be made clean, so that each comrade can look every citizen straight in the eye. Let it be made strong, so that it can serve social progress in our country, and for me that means serving the people. Let us signal the start of this, first of all with the election of a new leadership, and only then with the discussion on all those problems which concern us, which the revolutionary change in our country demands. That is the responsibility with which we as delegates are faced. We have a mandate from the party to determine the fate of the party.

But even more is involved. It concerns our country, this German state in which we live. Our first task will be to preserve this country and we should, we must, subordinate everything else to this. What is important is to preserve our country's existence in peace. Both are threatened, as recent days have shown. The first question then is about the situation, the internal state of our republic for which most of us have worked for so many years and which now cries out to be healed.

First, it is necessary and possible to ensure law, order, and justice everywhere. To this end in recent days, the government has adopted a number of measures. This also applies to the securing of evidence for violation of the law, abuse of office, and corruption under the former so-called party and state leadership. As premier I declare here before the delegates and before all the citizens that this coalition government is doing everything to ensure that illegality is uncovered. Law and order must, however, be preserved during this process. In unmasking abuse of office and corruption there must be no illegal acts, no violence against persons or property, there must be no overstepping of the authority of one's office. The state public order bodies must do their duty. To this end they need support, especially now. We are counting on the cooperation of the trade unions and of the political groupings, and not least on the agreements reached at the roundtable. They should try to ensure that state bodies can work undisturbed, step in to stop any signs of anarchy, and thus work for the functioning of daily life in the city and the countryside. Citizens who are slandered by radicals simply because they belong to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] have a right to protection. Let us not forget that all members of the SED who have a clear record, and that is most of our comrades, can say of themselves: We are the people, too! [Applause]

Second, it is a matter of an especially important, of a vitally important point of public order—that is, of proper, fruitful work. Here we must give great thanks for the enormous work of millions of workers, engineers, and employees in all sectors.

Everyone wants to raise their hat to those who prize useful deeds more than elegant words. I think the responsibility of every member of this party is, in the first instance, to benefit the people and himself through exemplary work. This expression, borrowed from Berthold Brecht, has now gained a message here which is a good one and close to life. Whoever works in an exemplary way does not finance hunting lodges but looks after his own home, his children, and his family, and also so that pensioners can live without the fear of falling in need tomorrow.

There is also cause for concern. Tomorrow I will confer with the directors general of the combines as to how we can get the wind in our sails. That means our having enough puff ourselves and, if necessary, letting foreign capital blow for us. Of course, those who want to be useful to us by providing new technology, technological know-how, and financial mobility should themselves gain from this. The legal regulations for the protection of capital from other states have not yet been presented to the People's Chamber, but work is continuing on it rapidly. I stress to all those involved: No time should be lost on this. Rather, the contracts with the directors general or directors of the state-owned enterprises should be negotiated for signature in good time.

My government guarantees that contracts concluded in a proper way will be observed in a proper way. And the level of physical plant in our enterprises should be an even better guarantee for this, quite apart from the industriousness and ability of the workers in our country. At the moment, however, I must point out that although industry has achieved the planned goods production up to 30 November at 100 percent in value terms, 51 combines—particularly in machine-building—have shortfalls of 1.5 billion marks.

The backlogs on contracts, and here the full truth becomes obvious, were 2.9 billion marks at the end of November. At the end of October it was 2.2 billion. This is a fact, not a value judgement or an allocation of blame. Above all, and everyone knows the cause, our industry in November, with 1,577,000,000 marks, had the lowest workday output. This fact applies also to the construction sector. But there is also a ray of hope. The plans for the sale of finished products to the people have been fulfilled in all sectors.

Further points: The construction of new homes showed a backlog on the plan of 7,221 apartments at the end of November. At the end of October it was 1,912 units. Only Cottbus Area has no backlogs. Congratulations to the colleagues and comrades. [applause]

Agriculture—and for this thanks and congratulations—has fulfilled the plan for state purchases of livestock on all items in all areas. [applause]

The transport system, under especially difficult conditions which got worse in November, has considerably exceeded the planned output with regard to goods transport in public road transport, that is excluding factory transport and long-distance traffic. At the end of November that was 103.2 percent or 106 percent. In rail traffic and inland shipping, the plans were not completely fulfilled, although above all the railway workers did their work admirably. Industry delivered almost 99 percent of the planned exports to the socialist economic sphere by the end of November. On exports to the USSR, according to the files it was 99.8 percent. There were exports of 99.2 percent of the planned quantities to the nonsocialist economic sphere. Everyone who has worked properly in this difficult, tempestuous time full of changes, worries, and hopes can be proud of this. He has made the most important contribution to the survival of the GDR, to the life of the citizens, to a constructive and assertive policy, to the international standing of the GDR.

Let us look outside the GDR—and this is something we should always be doing. We can see, to put it briefly, that as far as foreign policy goes, the wind is not blowing against this state, and will not do so as long as all of us honest citizens together ensure internal stabilization, human decency, and particularly economic stability, which alone can bring about an economic upturn. Our socialist partners are expecting of us, and this means all those forces which are prepared to support a renewed socialist society and to stabilize this state in full sovereignty, no sell-out to the FRG. Our allies are saying the same thing as my government, that unification of the two German states into one state is not on the agenda. [applause]

And strictly there should be no talk of reunification, as the word reunification is an anachronism and causes justified concerns and fears about pan-German chauvinism. Our allies, and primarily the Soviet Union, but equally our immediate neighbours and all other partner states are counting on a sovereign, socialist GDR which, on the foreign policy front, is a precondition for political stability in Europe. If then we call for the joining of all forces which are for such a sovereign GDR, for our country, and want to ensure together that this land will not be sacrificed on the altar of so-called reunification, then by doing so we are fulfilling the expectations of our allies.

I would like to add here that the declared interests of other states, for example France and Great Britain, are also directed at the existence of two German states. At the meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, I understand that President Bush also affirmed that the United States also stands by the existing borders, the existence of two German states, and the realities of the postwar period. And if I interpret this correctly, it has no intention of forcing events in the GDR in the direction of reunification. The recognition is spreading in the world that the existence of and an orderly relationship between the two German states are a weighty, indeed, first-rank question of world affairs.

From the responsibility linked with this fact, the GDR Government has proposed a treaty-based community of the two German states. I refer to my government statement. If Chancellor Helmut Kohl has picked up this thought and extended it by suggesting confederative steps, this is—I believe—a moderate starting point for forthcoming discussions, whereby the GDR is, above all, interested in what can be concretely introduced for 1990 and the following year, in order first of all to expand cooperation. I am not going to argue with anyone whether or not this is already a confederative step. Let us first get down to brass tacks, as many moderate people in the FRG want, particularly in the economy.

As a state in the center of Europe, also as a socialist state, our only chance is if we join the path to overcome the division of Europe. In the long years of confrontation, the GDR has a stabilizing function as a significant factor of European peace. Today we stand at the dawning of a new era. Another Europe is developing. There is no place in it for barriers. The GDR has only a place in it as a solid component part of a common European house in which sovereign states of different political and social orders cooperate in the basis of equal rights, freely, and indeed generously and tolerantly. Only a new GDR will fit into this Europe, because there should in the future be a Europe in a demilitarized, democratic, humanistic, and ecologically sensible way. All this means that the long-term prospect for relations between the two German states must be left to the future. It is part of overall European developments. Unification of the GDR and FRG is not a topical question of politics, and no one who cares about a healthy, correct development should accelerate it artificially or make it ammunition for an election campaign. I warn strongly against this.

Above all, however, we should not forget that both states can contribute significantly to the demilitarization of Central Europe. To repeat, treaty-based cooperation between the two German states at a new, higher level will certainly also create a great deal which can be described as an element in new structures and can point far into the future.

Even if we, dear comrades, see here only vague outlines of internal and foreign policy principles associated with the concept of the GDR, in my view we can recognize what steps, what expectations we must set ourselves with the activity, the commitment, the policy of our party. Let me, in a permissibly simplified way, once again say in one sentence: Today we have to create here the preconditions so that the party can work with a new program and with renewed energy for a fundamental renewal of socialism in the GDR and can grow in carrying out these tasks, so that it can renew itself and gain trust. I avoid the expression "regain." Thus, what began so hopefully in the tempestuous, angry days of October can become constructive and take shape. The truth is, that in this process the party as a whole had neither weight nor voice because the presumptuously infallible supreme leadership had difficulties. It was defective, it bore a heavy share of the blame, and the growing realization of this at the same time paralyzed most of our comrades. The truth is that at that time a dialogue began with the participation of comrades. However, the party as a whole did not gain face by this or speak with a firm voice. But that is just what is needed: a clear face which is turned toward the people and bears the features of socialism, which is obliged to uphold all human rights. We need a firm voice in order to be able to propagate what we will lay down by way of principles and aims and also to defend it in the political conflict of opinion.

I also think—if I may add this—that a comrade who has not been subjected to accusations and is honest, distinguished by his work and honest attitude, should not keep his mouth shut because his party leadership failed and he tolerated its authority, accepted the manipulation—and I say, perhaps—and had passed it on by rote. We want to support a renewed, yes, a new socialism, and even today, without a new party program being available, each of us should argue, speak, and act for it. [applause]

The era of waiting for elucidation from above is in any case gone irrevocably, and that should be recognized in every party organization. [applause]

Joint discussions, initiatives, and above all actions, which do justice to one's own responsibility, that is the imperative of the hour. Joint discussion means the common ground among the comrades, but also the give and take of constructive ideas in dialogue. In cooperation with others who want a GDR worth living in, we should distinguish ourselves together with all these forces, and examine our own positions and our work. Not least of all we should learn to listen—an art which today is not very highly valued, as many political groups, above all, want to articulate and put themselves forward. Sometimes one of us gets more attention than a diligent and enthusiastic worker who does not support socialism as quickly with his mouth as he does with his heart. [applause]

I think no honest comrade has reason to throw in the towel or let himself be forced into the depths. Modesty, good work, and the awareness of supporting a good cause is part of the attitude of comrades who want to renew our party.

Comrades, for our party to be capable of acting and to be able to renew itself, it must have a proper leadership capable of acting. This is called for by all comrades, by us delegates, and by those who have elected us. It could be said that the programmatic discussion should first of all be clarified, and then should come the question of who is needed for it. In principle that is the normal way. But we are not in a normal situation. We must have comrades who are capable of leading us out of this situation. [applause]

We must not hesitate to give leadership to the party which needs to be renewed, a leadership to which we give trust and confidence to guide this process. There must be a party chairman who is publicly esteemed and a party executive capable of acting as regards internal affairs and in relations with foreign partners. We need a party that can perform, that is politically active, that is in a position to play a part now and in the future in the coalition government of the GDR, a party which is a true partner at the roundtable, a party without which the honest cadres who exist everywhere and who need competence, cannot work effectively.

I therefore ask you, appeal to you, to approach the election of the leadership of our party from this viewpoint. It should be the leadership of a party which can also come through future elections. I say once again, the first and supreme responsibility is to exert our forces for the preservation of our republic with all its life, with all the hopes of the people, with everything they have worked for and—let us say it openly—sometimes have sweated for. Only if we face this supreme responsibility and decide accordingly will we be on the right track. Only in such a way will we do justice to our responsibility for our country, which we love.

Gysi Speech

LD0812234289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2126 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Report on speech by Party Chairman Gregor Gysi at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany special congress in East Berlin on 8 December]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The text of Gregor Gysi's speech at the party congress is as follows:

[Passage omitted] Now I would like to say something about the results of the commission of investigation. I have certain problems here, I must admit. First of all, we have only had 5 days so far. I thus ask you not to expect anything that does not take this period into account. Then again, such work was quite new and unknown to me; actually I am a defender, not an investigator, and what have you. I did not know this building and its structures. Even now, I have difficulty in finding any particular room. During this period, we had thousands of tip-offs from the public. Someone on the "Aktuelle Kamera" program [evening newscast] then had the bright idea of giving out the number 2020; I do not know whose idea it was. That made the telephone system in the Central Committee building break down. Still, it speaks for a certain measure of trust that this investigating commission has received. [passage omitted]

The shocking thing was the extent of the unjustified privileges of the former party leadership, the catastrophic state of the accounting in this building in certain sectors.

Without any of us noticing, the powers of the Central Auditing Commission gradually were reduced more and more, and finally further restricted at the Ninth Party Congress. None of us really noticed it at all. There were always instances of sentences being changed, and then suddenly this meant that expenditure could no longer be checked by the Central Auditing Commission, but only the revenue, which of course is a strange procedure and led to difficulties for these comrades, too. [passage omitted]

An especially negative effect was caused by the almost unlimited powers of Erich Honecker, and above all of the former head of the Finance Department, who had practically total authority as the sole signatory over accounts and many other sectors and who, in addition, had been given instructions to immediately destroy receipts in certain sectors. At least this is what he claims; I must put it that way because the person whose authority he cites cannot be questioned.

So I will not give any figures because first, I do not know them. I was not, after all, the financial auditor. Of course, in the final accounting, that will be the task of the Central Auditing Commission. I am not prepared, as it were, to take on this accounting report here, nor do I see why I should. [passage omitted]

However, I am certain of one thing: All the comrades in the Politburo, who belonged to the Politburo up to 17 October 1989, have violated duties, in my view—I say this quite clearly—as well as duties laid down in the party statute. [passage omitted] I think that, in actual fact, all of them violated these duties. This also emerges from their statements, in which they described how the first man in the party ruled, that the principle of collective government was violated. They all say: I conceded that I did not do enough against it. [passage omitted]

All of this is a little confused. Comrades, I must explain this to you also: I only put it all together today, and every statement has to be checked to see if it can be made, or if it will endanger the rest of the investigation. And I am in favor of clearing everything up with the greatest precision. Everyone who has to be brought to book must be held to account remorselessly. All cases of abuse of power and corruption must be cleared up without—I must stress this again—our going into a self-flagellation process and without pursuing unjustified accusations. [passage omitted]

Army Official Speech

LD0812222589 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2116 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Speech by Military Academy representative Manfred Scheler at the SED special congress in East Berlin—live]

[Excerpts] Comrades, I am speaking here for the delegates of the National People's Army and the GDR border troops, and for myself, too, of course. I believe the positions the working committee has set out for us and the reports we heard today from Hans Modrow and Gregor Gysi offer a substantial basis for us to reach the primary aim tonight: the election of a leadership for our party which is capable of acting and negotiating. [passage omitted]

As Comrade Gysi said, we are for a complete break with the bureaucratic-administrative system we used to call socialism. [Applause] We are for this in the whole of society, we are for it in the position which the Army and the other armed bodies have with regard to this society, and we are for this in the internal democratic constitution of the Army. [passage omitted]

We are doing all we can so that our Army and border troops stand for the renewal at the side of the democratic people's movement and move along with it. We no longer want to be the army of a party, but of the whole people. [Applause] Hence it is our desire that the party organizations within the National People's Army and the border troops should be dissolved forthwith, and we furthermore believe that a new party—a radical and renewed party—also needs a new name. The National People's Army and the border troops have to fulfill an exclusively democratic constitutional task, and we stand by this. We stand by our prime minister and our ministers. And we fulfill this task exclusively for the external protection of the peace and sovereignty of the GDR. The National People's Army and the border troops—I can assure you of this on behalf of our delegates—will use no force against the people, and we do not want any to be used against us.

Vote Against Dissolution

LD0912024789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0220 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Delegates to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] special congress, during the night from Friday to Saturday [8, 9 Dec], have unanimously voted against the dissolution of the SED. This was announced by the spokesman for the party congress, Brigitte Zimmermann, to GDR and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

The party congress, Brigitte Zimmermann said, will continue in Berlin next Saturday [16 Dec]. Until that time, the proposal of a new name for the party is to be discussed at the grass-roots level. The speeches by Hans Modrow and Gregor Gysi will be discussed in the basic organizations. [passage omitted]

'Mishap' Handled

LD0912083989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0739 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This morning the party congress had to deal with a mishap: While writing out the electoral lists, one candidate for the party executive and a candidate for the arbitration court were left out. Cosmonaut Sigmund Jaehn was the candidate for the party executive.

At Gregor Gysi's proposal, the delegates decided that the two candidates should be allowed to put up their names for election when the party congress continues next Saturday. Those responsible for the mishap received a rebuke from the party congress.

Meanwhile, the delegates to the extraordinary SED party congress continued their discussions in the plenum. The discussion topic: "for an alternative democratic socialism," submitted by the working committee was the main subject of the debate. The editorial commission received numerous proposals for it. It is in session at present.

Resolution Passed

LD0912095189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0916 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Immediately before the results of the elections were announced, the delegates this morning passed as a resolution a "Report on the Debate on the First Day of the Extraordinary Party Congress." In this programmatic material presented by the chairman of the editorial commission, Lothar Bisky, all members are appealed to not to wait for the new line, but to argue out the party's new path for themselves.

There was strong applause for core thoughts such as the one that the delegates saw it "as their duty to apologize sincerely to the people on behalf of the party for the fact that the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leadership led our country into this crisis that threatens its existence." They were willing to pay off this debt.

The renewed party wanted a democratic socialism "beyond Stalinist psuedo-socialism and the rule of profit." They wanted to give themselves a new name at the end of the party congress, "which corresponds to the new spirit of the party." The disbanding and splitting of the party were resolutely rejected.

After passing this resolution with one vote against and six abstentions, the Congress decided to conclude the extraordinary party congress next Saturday [16 December] from 0900 to 2100, and Sunday from 0900 to 1400.

Text of Resolution

LD0912121689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1110 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The delegates to the extraordinary party congress of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] today approved a "Report on the Debate on the First Day of the Extraordinary Party Congress" presented by the editorial commission. The text is as follows:

The delegates to the extraordinary party congress see it as their duty to apologize sincerely to the people on behalf of the party for the fact that the former SED leadership led our country into this crisis, which threatens its existence.

We are willing to pay off this debt.

We sincerely thank the mature citizens of our country who forced the radical change by their courageous and nonviolent struggle and, thereby, gave us the opportunity for the revolutionary renewal of our party as well.

The extraordinary party congress has completed the break with the power-policy arrogance by the party toward the people, as well as with the dictatorship of the leadership over the party grass roots. It presents party members by the working paper of its preparatory Working Committee with an orientation for democratic socialism beyond Stalinist pseudo-socialism and the rule of profit.

Guarantees are proposed for overcoming stagnant party structures and paths marked out toward living democracy in our party's life in the draft of a new statute.

The extraordinary party congress resolution to remove the name SED and to give itself a new name at the conclusion of the prty congress which corresponds to the new spirit of the party, is an expression of our party's reckoning with the dictatorial side of its existence to date.

We are firmly resolved to restructure our party thoroughly. We want to become a new, socialist party which continues the traditions of the workers movement. This ties in with our social democrat, socialist, communist, antifasicst and pacifist heritage.

Our party is open to all who want democratic socialism.

Our party bases its policies on the modern social sciences. In this Marx and Lenin are our historical example. It rejects any restriction on theoretical sources.

Our party will gain its unity from the competition of ideas among its members, from platforms and tendencies within the party. Our party favors party pluralism. It sees itself as the political representative of the social interests of all working people. We are striving for a recognized place in a lively system of militant political parties and social forces.

We feel solidarity with the CPSU and all political movements wanting socialism with a human face.

We want partnership with the Social Democrats.

What topical points of view do we put forward? We resolutely reject the splitting and disbandment of our party. We have started its de facto re-founding. We are breaking with the system of Stalinism.

We favor a democratic socialism which is humane, capable of performing economically, and ecologically sound. Differing interests of classes, social strata and groups should not bring about social conflicts but be a driving force of progress and the constant renewal of socialism. This socialism should serve peace, disarmament and the solution of important global problems.

The basic organizations are the decisive basis for the formation of will within our party and of party life as a whole. All elected executives above them have an obligation to the will of the majority in their activities. In accordance with this, the modus operandi and the structure of the party apparatus must be subordinate to this concern. This makes possible and requires the significant diminuation of the apparatus. By this radical renewal our party is committedly and irrevocably breaking with Stalinism in party life.

With a view to the forthcoming election campaign we must become more intensively effective in the regions. In the enterprises and institutions, comrades should jointly discuss political and economic questions and represent the interests of the working people.

We are in favor of implementing the performance principle at all levels of the economy, science, and administration. The comrades will work for this immediately and everywhere. In so doing, the party fights for the right to work for all and supports all measures of retraining, qualification, relocation as well as social stop-gap measures. We support all efforts to eliminate the social disadvantage of women in our society. We support real equality of opportunity in education, irrespective of ideology, religion, and social background for all children and young people.

The success of renewal presently depends essentially on maintaining production, transport, and supplies in all spheres. This demands immediate decisions for planning in 1990, as well as immediate measures to stabilize the economy and agriculture and to safeguard municipal life in the coming days and weeks.

The priority is essential supplies, materials, tools, and spares, stable winter supplies, and the deployment of additional labor forces, above all from administrative offices in key areas. We expect all members of our party to support the functioning of everyday life and the continuous supply of food in our difficult situation through their personal commitment. An essential precondition is the recognition of the authority of state managers in all enterprises. Economic reform must be approached in a radical, far-reaching, and speedy manner. It includes a redefinition of science and technology. Our party congress will formulate ideas on this when it continues.

We favor a state under the rule of law and support the government in protecting all citizens of the country from attacks. Vigilantism and acts of revenge must be decisively prohibited.

We regard strikes as irresponsible in the present extremely tense situation.

We support everything which serves the safeguarding of the performance of our national economy for the benefit of the people. The conditions for a right to strike in the GDR will be decided in a law which will be discussed broadly and publicly by the comrades in the trade unions prior to being adopted by the People's Chamber.

We declare our support for the alliance with the CPSU, friendship with the Soviet Union, the inviolability of the Oder-Neisse frontier, for friendly neighborliness with the Polish People's Republic and the CSSR, for our obligations in the Warsaw Pact, for worldwide international friendship, and the CSCE process.

Unification between the GDR and FRG is not on the agenda for us. We favor a sovereign socialist GDR, which is a precondition for political stability in Europe. We strive for a treaty-based community with the FRG and are open to the idea of confederative structures.

The grass roots are discussing the program and statutes of the party on the basis of the results to date of the party congress and the standpoint of the working committee. The party executive is setting out program theses and status drafts on this.

This report of the editorial commission intends to be understood as a further contribution to the discussion.

Let us not wait for the new line, let us fight to achieve the new path of the party! Let it be visible in your own attitude that we are committing ourselves to this renewal industriously, aware of responsibility, modestly, and full of ideas.

Gysi Elected Chairman

LD0912103189 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1005 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Statement by Election Commission chairman at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, SED, special congress in East Berlin—live]

[Text] In the election, 2,714 delegates took part, i.e. 98.58 percent of those present at the conference. Comrade Gregor Gysi has been elected chairman of our party with 95.32 percent of the vote, that is 2,588 [passage indistinct due to applause]

Arbitration Body Named

LD0912121289 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1010 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Announcement by the Electoral Commission chairman at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany special congress in East Berlin—live]

[Text] The Electoral Committee announces the result of the election to the Arbitration Commission:

Comrade (Guenter Weimann) received 2,624 votes.

Comrade (Joachim Nochmann), 2,616 votes.

Comrade (Jochen Kretschmar), 2,606 votes.

Comrade (Horst Weinberg), 2,600 votes.

Comrade (Guenter Auerbach), 2,596 votes.

Comrade (Guenter Scheiding), 2,580 votes.

Comrade (Werner Fraenkler), 2,578 votes.

Comrade (Manfred Guenther), 2,557 votes.

Comrade (Gisela Braun), 2,523 votes.

Comrade (Michael Giese), 2,550 votes.

Comrade (Guenter Wieland), 2,488 votes.

Comrade (Karl-Heinz Eige), 2,427 votes.

Comrade (Horst Duerenberg), 2,422 votes.

Comrade (Gerhard Lauter), 2,397 votes.

Comrade (Gerlinde Schiele), 2,375 votes.

Comrade (Doris Lange), 2,374 votes.

Comrade Gerd Schultz, 2,279 votes.

Comrade (Ralf Koerster), 2,199 votes.

Comrade (Stefan Flack), 2,103 votes.

In 20th place, Comrade Werner Mueller, with 2,036 votes. Comrade (?Juergen Swarte) with 2,004 votes was 21st. He must stand for re-election next Saturday against Comrade Moritz in a second round.

Deputy Chairmen Elected

LD0912123589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1158 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During its constituent session the newlyelected SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] party executive elected Hans Modrow, Wolfgang Berghofer, and Wolfgang Pohl as deputy chairmen. The fourth deputy seat is still vacant.

Berghofer, who was also named chairman of the Political System Commission, remains chief mayor of Dresden. Pohl is to head the Organization and Party Life Commission.

Monika Werner, Marlies Deneke, Lothar Bisky, Klaus Hoepcke, Hans- Joachim Willerding, and Helmar Hegewald were also elected members of the party executive's Presidium. Mrs Werner may also be the chairwoman of the SED parliamentary group in the People's Chamber.

Gregor Gysi expressed gratitude for the confidence expressed in him, which now has to be justified. The chance which has arisen for a new beginning for the party will have to be used consistently in order to make an effective contribution for perestroyka in the GDR. This could be created by means of democracy and glasnost.

He again stressed that the break with Stalinism had been achieved in this first day of discussion. But one should understand that the overcoming of Stalinist ideas and structures is a difficult process which demands all of one's strength. Gregor Gysi directed greetings to friends in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist states "which are also restructuring, as we wish to do."

The SED will strive for partnership with all democratic parties and movements in the GDR and in all other countries, that means in the FRG and Berlin (West) as well.

New Party Leadership

LD0912133489 East berlin ADN International Service in German 1240 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership looks like this after the direct and secret election of the chairman, the Arbitration Commission and the Executive, as well as its constituent session:

Party chairman: Gregor Gysi;

Deputy party chairmen: Hans Modrow, Wolfgang Berghofer—head of the Political System Commission, Wolfgang Pohl—head of the Organization and Party Life Commission.

Other members of the Presidium of the party executives:

Monika Werner; Marlies Deneke—head of the Youth and Women's Policy Commission; Lothar Bisky—head of the Media and Press, as well as the Education and Schooling Commission.

Klaus Hoepke—head of the Culture and Science Policy Commission; Hans-Joachim Willerding—head of the International Policy Commission; Helmar Hegewald—head of the Environmental Policy Commission; chairman of the Arbitration Commission: Guenter Wieland; deputy chairman of the Arbitration Commission: Gerd Schulz.

A fourth deputy chairman will be elected later and will then head the Economic and Social Policy Commission. [passage omitted]

Congress Halts for Week

LD0912115689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1136 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] congress broke off its work today at 1220 after more than 17 hours. The more than 2,700 delegates will continue their discussions this coming weekend in the same venue, the Dynamo sports stadium in Berlin.

Gysi Discusses Views After Election

LD0912110589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1040 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Immediately after the anouncement of the election results, Dr Gregor Gysi, the newly elected chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], answered questions by journalists from home and abroad. The next few days will be used very intensively to perform programmatical work. It is, above all, a matter of concerning oneself very intensively with the situation in the country, as that is the most important thing to make a start on proposals by the party to solve the problems. "We are not and do not want to be an administrative party any more, that means we must find arguments and convince people. That is more dificult, but in the end much more interesting," he said.

Gysi on Upcoming Tasks

LD0912113389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1105 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Gregor Gysi, the newly elected chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], considers the crisis in his party as not yet resolved. He told the international press after his election: "There are no such things as miracles; it is a matter of a very long process in which we have to win confidence. That will only work with fresh content, new people, and very good arguments. And we will also have to prove the truth and honesty of our statements. I only hope that with us it will be somewhat easier. It remains incredibly complicated." [passage omitted]

He called the decision never again to raise the claim to a monopoly on power and wanting to be a party among other parties—but of course as strong a party as possible—as the most important content. The party will make efforts to extend its influence by contributing better programs and arguments to the solution of problems. At the same time it is a matter of a contribution to solving international problems.

Coalition Likely

LD0912124689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1214 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Chairman Gregor Gysi told journalists his party will fight for every vote at the forefront of the parliamentary elections planned for May 1990 and will certainly be ready for coalitions. "We must, of course, show ourselves to be sufficiently credible so that others see us as capable of forming a coalition."

The SED wants to be "a party among other parties. Of course we want to be as strong a party as possible. We will try to extend our influence by providing the better programs and arguments for solving the problems in our country."

Modrow Satisfied With Gysi's Election

LD0912192889 Hamburg DPA in German 1748 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow has expressed satisfaction with the election of Gregor Gysi as new Socialist Unity Party of Germany chairman. "The new chairman will suit our party well," Modrow said in East Berlin today.

Gysi is a personalitity "who has made a mark for himself." In addition, the lawyer has good contacts with the opposition groups.

Gysi Says SED Still Aims at Classless Society

LD1012001189 Hamburg DPA in German 2122 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to the new Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] chairman, Gregor Gysi, the aim of the party remains a classless society. In an interview with the [West German television service] ARD program "Topics of the Day," Gysi added this evening that the party wanted to draw not only from communist ideals, but also from social democrat and pacifist traditions. These foundations are equally important to him, he said. The radical renewal of the SED should go "in the direction of democracy, the state based on the rule of law, and socialism."

Currently, "we are undertaking very consistently" the division of party and state, Gysi said. This task cannot be completed in a day, but it is being taken very seriously.

Gysi Says 20 Percent SED Vote 'Quite Good'

LD1012001989 Hamburg DPA in German 2153 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to [new Socialist Unity Party (SED) Chairman] Gregor Gysi, all democratic forces which meet on the basis of the new constitution, which needs to be prepared, could work in a future coalition government after the elections on 6 May. For the SED he would regard a tally of 20 percent of the votes in the elections as "quite good," the new party chairman said in an interview with [the West German Second Television Service] ZDF. He could not and did not wish to imagine that the socialists would be completely pushed out of power.

Asked about the state of his party, Gysi expressed regret that the SED had not made use of the chance offered in 1985 by the revolutionary changes in the USSR. Since that time, dissatisfaction in the party and the GDR had grown.

New Forum Leader Comments on Gysi

LD1012155589 Hamburg DPA in German 1515 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In the view of the co-founder of the New Forum, Baerbel Bohley, the new SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] chairman, the lawyer Gregor Gysi, has "taken over the SED." But he would not succeed alone in making the party credible again, Frau Bohley told DPA in East Berlin today. She doubted whether Gysi would succeed in "depriving the large SED apparatus of power or reforming it."

Gysi was needed, at present, more urgently as a jurist than in his new capacity, said Frau Bohley. There were "enough other things" which the lawyers of the country had to deal with "so that state legality is brought in here." The new SED leader had been the legal representative of the New Forum in the last few weeks.

Gorbachev Greets Gysi on Chairmanship

LD1012180989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1748 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov today handed over a message of greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev to Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The message reads as follows:

Please accept congratulations on your election as chairman of the party. We wish you, your comrades in the party, and all those who hold dear the interests and the well-being of the people of the sovereign GDR, success in the democratic renewal of the society.

Gysi Assures Gorbachev of SED Preservation

LD1112091589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0052 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Chairman Gregor Gysi has assured CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev that he will do everything in his power to contribute to the preservation and consolidation of the SED, as well as safeguarding the GDR's sovereignty. During a lengthy telephone conversation, Gysi said on Sunday evening that in his view this would be possible only through the radical renewal of the SED, the uncompromising change of existing structures, and the far-reaching democratization of society. He is certain that in this he could bank on the support of the CPSU and the USSR.

Mikhail Gorbachev promised that the leadership of the CPSU is paying the closest attention to the further development of relations with the GDR and, while observing the existing framework conditions, making use of the opportunities available to provide support. The Soviet politician underlined the significance of the SED's striving for the fundamental renewal of socialism in the GDR, as affirmed at the special party congress, the further consolidation of friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, and the rejection of any attempts to impair the country's sovereignty. In this connection, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the need for all the states to contribute toward peace and calm in central Europe, since the stability of the European continent depends to no small extent on the stability of the GDR. With reference to the new international situation, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that the current issues cannot be solved with old concepts.

During the telephone conversation, Gregor Gysi expressed his sincere thanks for Gorbachev's greetings telegram received on the same evening. The two politicians agreed to have a personal meeting at an early date.

Gysi Comments on Rule of Law, Constitution

AU0812131189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 5 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, chairman of the SED Commission, for "Offenses Against Party Statutes and the Law," by Joerg Stratmann; date and place not given—"The People Are To Vote on Socialism"]

[Text] DIE WELT: How long do you think it will take the GDR to become a state based on the rule of law?

Gysi: For me, a state based on the rule of law is a process that is never concluded. And therefore the question is not: Did we have one or did we not? There would certainly be completely different answers to this question in different fields. I know that in family law we are perhaps more advanced than other states. The question is whether the things that were possible under the given social conditions were done to develop a state based on the rule of law. In this respect, of course, opportunities were missed in the past.

DIE WELT: How can the stability of the law be achieved?

Gysi: This depends on the fields. As far as politically supported norms are concerned, this is especially problematic in the field of administrative fines and in criminal law. Formulations that could be interpreted in a way which left it greatly to the discretion of the deciding organ to subsume a way of acting under a norm were often used. It has to be the other way around. The citizen has to know exactly what is permitted and what is forbidden, and the prohibitions must be widely accepted.

DIE WELT: What about political criminal law?

Gysi: Our point of view on political crimes is that they can only be formulated where the bases of the state's existence are at stake. However, the facts of the cases must not be formulated in such a general way as in Article 100 of the criminal code entitled "Treasonable Espionage."

DIE WELT: Can you imagine that files on the investigations will be handed over to the Salzgitter Registration Office and that the GDR will prosecute these violent acts of its own accord?

Gysi: First of all, I am, of course, in favor of closing down Salzgitter because this is a question of sovereignty. Second, if findings on the use of violence against persons in the GDR by prison officers or others exist there, I do think that information could be provided and that, in the present stage, this could be expected to result in the required investigations. Of course, as far as persons are concerned who, on the basis of the law that was in force at that time or is now in force, resolved things which West German authorities consider to be unjust, this cannot lead to prosecution.

DIE WELT: Are you in favor of a referendum on a new constitution...

Gysi: Yes.

DIE WELT: ...which, like the one valid between 1968 and 1974, contains a passage on the national question?

Gysi: I would be glad if it were laid down in the draft that the GDR is a sovereign socialist state, so that the citizens can exactly decide whether they want this or not. This would also be an indirect vote on this question. I am not for the establishment of new states, new centralized states, in Europe, but I am in favor of reducing the state system as far as possible and of building a common European home in which this question is not raised any longer. In the end we will all become Europeans. This is my vision.

'Tens of Thousands' Demonstrate Throughout Nation

LD1012145189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1421 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Tens of thousands of GDR citizens gathered during the weekend in the country's towns and villages for demonstrations.

The participants in such an event in the center of Rostock called for anti-fascism and peace. On banners which read "No right turn!" and "Stop the brown danger," they warned against the renaissance of fascist forces on GDR territory and at the same time rejected the country's takeover by the FRG.

The New Forum in Cottbus had organized a rally on the occasion of the forthcoming International Human Rights Day. The participants called for the establishment of the rule of law. Speakers of the pressure group called for calm and circumspection in the process of democratic renewal.

Children and youngsters in Dresden and Magdeburg yesterday called for a school which would be fun to attend.

Fourteen speakers from the New Forum, the "Group of 20" pressure group, the "Green Socialist Party," and other organizations and independents addressed 15,000 inhabitanats of Plauen. [passage omitted]

At Military Airfield

LD1012170889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1541 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Tens of thousands of GDR citizens gathered in the country's towns and villages for demonstrations over the weekend. [passage omitted]

On Saturday, some 10,000 from the three northern areas of the GDR called for changing the Kranskamp military airfield in the Rostock Area into a civilian establishment for the GDR's Interflug airline. This nonviolent demonstration was called for by representatives of the New Forum. They explained their viewpoint at a meeting attended by local cooperative farmers and army members. Major Armin Lai, a pilot, spoke as a representative of the National People's Army. He warned against illusions, since more than enough NATO airfields existed, from Iceland to Schleswig-Holstein. Only recently, an entire air squadron was disbanded in the GDR. This time had come for the FRG Government to understand that disarmament should not be a unilateral matter. Meanwhile, his unit had carried out numerous changes. Night flights therefore were being either halted or greatly reduced, and many reservists would be discharged within a few days in order to strengthen the national economy.

For Human Rights

LD1012180189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1633 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Several hundred citizens demonstrated in Berlin this afternoon against hostility to foreigners and for human rights in the GDR. The people, who had responded to the appeal from New Forum Berlin, for a rally on Human Rights Day, marched from the Pressecafe in Alexanderplatz to Academy Square. Banners and placards proclaimed: "Democracy also means: no exclusion of foreigners," "Against black marketeers, not against Poles," and "Freedom for the people of Romania too."

In Academy Square, several citizens from the CSSR, the USSR, Romania and the GDR spoke to the gathering. They demanded judicial reform, more rights for children and the elderly, and a law-governed state in the GDR. Foreign speakers portrayed the situation in their countries and advocated mutual solidarity in the process of renewal. A Romanian citizen highlighted the appalling situation of the people in his country. Soviet citizens living and working in the GDR demanded greater solidarity with foreign citizens, and expressed their growing fear of increasing neo-Nazismm, violence and hostility to foreigners. Slogans such as "Never again Germany," "No Nazis," and "No Kohl-ification" were chanted.

Paluen Protest Urges Reunification

LD0912235189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] During a demonstration in Plauen today, 15,000 local people called for reunification, confederation, unity of the two German states. There were also calls for free elections and rejections of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In contrast, tens of thousands of GDR citizens at demonstrations in Rostock and in West Berlin supported an independent republic. They warned against a surrender of values to capital and against the GDR selling out.

Demonstration for Reunification in Berlin

AU0912200189 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Slogans of unity dominated a demonstration in East Berlin's Lustgarten today. Artists, authors, and scientists had announced the demonstration.

Thousands Occupy National Security Office

LD0512224289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2200 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] In Dresden several thousand citizens occupied the Bezirk [area] Office for National Security. Office head (Boehm) had opened the gates under pressure from the demonstrators. They demanded the continued sealing of rooms and archives since there was a suspicion that incriminating material was being destroyed. A spokesman for the New Forum appealed to those present not to use force and to leave the grounds so as not to hinder the State Prosecutor's Office in the checks being carried out. The situation has now eased.

Earlier it was announced that the entire board of the office for National Security had resigned en masse.

Police Secure National Security Headquarters

LD0812191589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1832 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The national headquarters of the Office for National Security in the GDR's capital has been secured since 1900 today by the German People's Police. This emerges from a release by the office's press office. It goes on to say that people's policemen had taken over the checking of pedestrian and vehecular traffic.

Police Secure Offices

LD0812164289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The local offices of the GDR Office for National Security have been secured by members of the German People's Police, depending on the operative situation, for some days in order to guarantee law and order. This has been announced by the press office of the Interior Ministry. The aim of the measures is to guarantee the capability of the buildings to function and only to allow access to authorized personnel. Above and beyond this, measures have been laid down together with the state attorney to prevent the unauthorized removal of written material. The security of some offices is being carried out together with representatives of various citizens initiatives. By carrying out these security measures, recommendations of the roundtable talks yesterday are being corresponded with.

Maleuda Expresses Confidence in People's Army

LD0812143789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1350 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the current tense situation, the People's Chamber will do all in its power to help ensure the achievement of the necessary calm, level-headedness, and order. People's Chamber President Dr Guenter Maleuda emphasized in Berlin today during a talk with a delegation of the National People's Army [NVA] and the GDR Border Troops, headed by Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann, that there is great confidence in the service of the members of the NVA. The forces that want to obstruct the democratic renewal process in the GDR cannot be premittted to take action against the NVA.

The parliamentary president thanked all Army members and border soldiers for their self-sacrificing work during these days and weeks for the GDR's external protection and for the high achievements made in the national economy.

In the process of the intended military reform, it is important, Dr Maleuda underlined, to create a people's army in the truest sense of the word, to be independent of party influences and trends of conviction. This military reform must be an important component of the whole reform policy in the GDR. Over the next year, the parliament will deal with a series of corresponding bills, including a community service law, a law on disaster control and civil defense, and additions to the military service, defense and border law.

Minister Hoffmann underlined that the NVA members and border guards support the process of renewal in the GDR. People are ready and in a position to fulfill the constitutional task set for the Army, aware of their responsibility and in high operational readiness. Side by side with the brothers-in-arms in the Warsaw Pact states, the GDR is being secured externally, and a contribution to security and stability in Europe is thereby being made. A renewal in the GDR must also bring about a renewal of the NVA. The necessary military reform should be borne also by the People's Chamber.

The defense minister expressed the concern of the Army members on the declining order in the country. "We are fearful for the security of this republic, for which we are on guard." There is also concern about attacks on the Armed Forces, their members, and their families. The Army members should be treated like any other citizens. There was nothing to NVA premises which is directed against the people, Hoffmann said. The weapons and ammunition stored in these premises should not, however, be allowed to fall into the wrong hands.

Interior Minister Reviews Events, Calls for Calm

LD0812162289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1454 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Interior Minister Lothar Ahrendt has told ADN that, given the heightened situation, the most important thing for the GDR society is to maintain calm, level-headedness and nonviolence. He appealed to all citizens of the country to prevent the current situation being exploited for the perpetration of acts of violence. To ensure this, the Interior Ministry will work closely with all democratic forces, the church, the citizens' committees and other new citizens' initiatives.

Questioned on the situation regarding the revelation of the causes of the events on the 40th anniversary of the GDR, the minister responded: "The analysis of the telexes of the then-interior minister dating from 4, 8, and 9 October, to all offices of the People's Police, reveals that the mass movement in the GDR was not perceived and recognized as a revolutionary people's movement. Rather there were tendencies to criminalize this movement, made plain in words, through formulations such as troublemakers, rowdies, and groups stirred up by Western media. Criticism and dissent were classified as attacks on the party and the state, against which consistent action must be taken. Underlying such assessments, one could detect the idea that anti-socialist forces were on the streets."

The security forces were aligned in particular against rowdy and violent attacks by the opponent. "Another negative influence on the forces deployed was the fact that, in accordance with the security policy of the party, the whole internal political corpus of laws and regulations was directed primarily inwards toward defense, separation and exaggerated security thinking. This resulted, among other things, in tendencies to place genuine rowdies and troublemakers on a level with peaceful demonstrators who were expressing on the street their anger at the false policies, and to indicate particular dangers to the People's Police. The question remains open here of whether there were genuine phantom culprits who were to intensify conflicts. I have no information on this." By circumventing the Constitution and through the overlapping of personnel of the Politburo and the National Defense Council, People's Police and the other protection and security organs of the GDR were "in practice subordinated to the general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and received binding instructions from there. This was how affairs were conducted even during October."

As a result chiefs, directors, and commanders of the People's Police directed their main efforts to preventing and obstructing hostile or other negative acts and provocations. "The members of the People's Police squads were given false political motivation and were prepared for different scenarios which were intended to ensure the swift removal of possible disturbances, the breaking up of gatherings of people with alleged intention to cause trouble. Action was also taken with special equipment. Similarly there was an order to organize close cooperation with service units of the former State Security Ministry." In retrospect, the orientations of this order were too simplistic and ultimately false. There had also been direct intervention of the Ministry for State Security in the sphere of responsibility of the Interior Ministry. The minister said that the result of this was that the responsibility for guaranteeing public order and security should rest exclusively in the future with the organs of the Interior Ministry.

'Feliks Dzierzynski' Guards Support Government

AU0812145389 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 5 Dec 89 p 2

[BZ report: "Guard Regiment Supports GDR Government"]

[Text] East Berlin—In view of the dramatic escalation of the situation in our country, the discovery of more crimes committed by the members of the former party and state leadership, Major General Doering, commander of the "Feliks Dzierzynski" Guard Regiment in the National Security Office, states the following:

So far, the members of the "Feliks Dzierzynski" Guard Regiment have fulfilled their tasks in line with the GDR Constitution. Therefore, we are all the more deeply shocked about the irresponsible political decisions of the former leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and by the unprecedented criminal actions of these persons, whom we protected trustingly, with best motives, and great dedication. Therefore, we demand the complete clarification of all cases of violation of the law committed and ordered by these persons and their punishment in accordance with our laws.

We, the members of the "Feliks Dzierzynski" Guard Regiment, come from all classes and strata. We are also a part of the GDR people and we feel inseparably linked with them. These links are demonstrated by, among other things, our work in the national economy. We unreservedly advocate the revolutionary renewal of socialism in the GDR. We will protect the renewal of socialism against any dangers. This requires us to fulfill the security policy tasks we have been given as well as the tasks to support the national economy with discipline and in an organized way; 1,500 members of the Guard Regiment are already working in the national economy.

This is how the "Feliks Dzierzynski" Guard Regiment understands its constitutional assignment and its readiness to comprehensively and reliably fulfill the decisions of the GDR People's Chamber and the tasks set down by the GDR government.

Honecker, Other Ex-Leaders Charged

LD0812141189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1353 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR prosecutor-general has instituted preliminary proceedings against Erich Honecker, Erich Mielke, Willi Stoph, Guenter Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, and Hermann Axen. They are charged with having caused serious damage to the GDR national economy and with having increased their personal wealth through abuse of office and corruption. The press spokesman of the GDR prosecutor-general, Dr Pieter Przybylski, announced this at a press conference in Berlin today.

The persons named have been detained, with the exception of Honecker and Axen. Honecker can neither be questioned nor arrested because, as was confirmed by doctors, he is seriously ill. Axen is in Moscow for an eye operation. In the process of the preliminary proceedings, the prosecutor-general has ordered that the residences of those charged should be searched, and this was carried out.

Proceedings Instituted Against CDU's Goetting

LD0812144189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1430 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the basis of a report from the Committee of Inquiry of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Main Executive, the GDR prosecutor general has instituted preliminary proceedings against former CDU Chairman Gerald Goetting. He is charged with having undertaken financial manipulation to the detriment of the socialist property.

Ex-NDPD Leader 'Had Foreign Exchange Account'

AU0812145989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Dec 89 p 2

[AND/ND report: "Former NDPD Chairman Had Foreign Currency Account"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN/ND)—"We are in favor of a profound democratic and moral renewal of our country," the statement of the Secretariat of the National Democratic Party of Germany Main Executive Committee says. A commission is sparing no effort to clarify the suspicious circumstance surrounding the financial management of former Chairman Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, who has already lost his offices in the State Council, the People's Chamber, and the Presidium of the Main Executive Committee, it is stated.

Independently of the planned speedy publication of the result, the present findings on the existence of a personal foreign exchange account suffice to institute party proceedings. Dr Guenther Trysna, director of the Financial Administration and Party Business Department attached to the Secretariat of the Main Executive Committee, has been suspended from office in order that investigations may proceed unimpaired, it is stated.

Schwerin Government Chairman, Deputy Resign

LD0812182389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—The chairman of the Schwerin Bezirk [Area] government, Rudi Fleck, resigned today. At the same time he gave up his Socialist Unity Party of Germany seat as a member of the Bezirk diet. Apart from this, Ulrich Huebner resigned as deputy chairman of the Bezirk government and chairman of the Bezirk Plan Commission. The first deputy chairman, Dr Siegfried Hempelt, is acting chairman of the government.

Documents Confiscated on Arms Dealing

LD0912104789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0914 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Cottbus (ADN)—Following tips from the public on contacts with arms dealing by the Luebben Spree Works—Cottbus Bezirk [area]—the Cottbus Bezirk state prosecutor and the criminal investigators confiscated and sealed material in the dispatch department. The documents give information on the works' delivery obligations concerning firearms ammunition.

The factory's director Heinz Schulz reported that since the mid-80's, relations existed with the Commercial Coordination Department and the IMES GmbH, which is part of it. However during this time there were no exports. [passage omitted]

Official Confirms Tanks Sent to Iran in '88

LD0912153489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1456 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—The activity of the Bezirk [Area] Office for National Security in Neubrandenburg and its Kreis [District] offices is being stopped effective immediately. This was announced today by the head of the Bezirk office, Major General Dr Peter Koch at a discussion on the topic of "State Security" organized by New Forum and other movements and parties. The buildings of the Kreis offices would be handed over for further use to the councils of the towns in the following days. [passage omitted]

There was outrage when Maj Gen Dr Peter Koch confirmed, when asked, that last year 50 tanks, which were reconditioned and constructed in the Teterow repair works, were sent to Iran.

FDGB Elects New Leaders, Prepares for Congress

LD0912150389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1435 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The FDGB [Free German Trade Union Fedration] has had a new leading body since this afternoon. On the basis of proposals from the trade union grass roots, a preparatory committee has been formed which will operate until the extraordinary trade union congress scheduled for 31 January-1 February 1990. Werner Peplowski, chairman of the Paper and Printing Industry Trade Union, was unanimously elected chairman. Earlier at the meeting in Berlin, the FDGB's National Executive and the working secretariat headed by Annelis Kimmel, which was elected last week, resigned.

Details of Elections

LD0912201489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1821 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—THE FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] has a new leading body. On the basis of proposals from the trade union grass roots, a preparatory committee was formed for the period up to the Extraordinary Trade Union Congress on 31 January and 1 February 1990. This was preceded by the mass resignation of the National Executive at its 12th session in Berlin today.

The committee includes 32 trade unionists from all the industrial and other trade unions, from enterprise and departmental trade union executives and district and area executives of the FDGB. None of them belonged to the old Presidium. Werner Peplowski, chairman of the Central Executive of the Printing and Paper Industrial Trade Union, was unanimously elected chairman.

In accordance with the majority wish and the expectations of the trade union members for renewed, strong, free, and independent trade unions, the preparatory committee—in a statement—named three areas of focus. The first is the creation of strong, independent industrial and other trade unions, with which the members can identify in a new way and which have financial autonomy in their sphere of responsibility.

Secondly, the FDGB should coordinate the activity of the industrial and other trade unions as an umbrella organization. It should have at its disposal only a small apparatus at central, area, and district level, and should look after the representation of regional interests.

Thirdly, efforts are being made to submit the draft of a new trade union law by 15 December which secures the legally effective representation of trade union interests. This will include regulations for solving collective labor disputes and the application of trade union weapons. The protection of elected trade union representatives must be ensured.

Named as immediate tasks were: uncovering all cases of abuse of office, corruption, and personal enrichment in the organization, and the punishment of those responsible, the clarification of the financial situation, the bringing into force of a new ruling on contributions on the basis of net money incomes with effect from 1 January 1990, the participation of the trade unions in the roundtable at all levels, the secret and democratic election of the delegates to the congress, and a revision of the draft documents for the congress that had been presented on the basis of the proposals and suggestions made by the members. [passage omitted]

Prior to its resignation, the National Executive took several decisions. They included scrapping the preamble to the statute, which laid down the leading role of the party of the working class. In addition it was decided to strip all trade union privileges in cases of proven abuse of office and corruption.

By way of introduction, Annelis Kimmel [outgoing trade union leader] gave a report on the situation in the FDGB. It devoted large areas to the illegal use made of trade union moneys by the former chairman, Tisch, who, for example, had a fund at his disposal, without controls, of 500,000 marks a year. From this were financed, among other things, gifts to mark state holidays and also vacations for the Tisch and Mittag families. By 30 September 1989, around 116,000 marks had been "disposed of." Regarding the 100 million marks made available to the youth federation FDJ [Free German Youth] for the "National Youth Festival" at Whitsun 1989, Frau Kimmel said that the 50 million marks not used would now be paid back; application would be made to the government regarding the other 50 million, because it had been approved at the time by the FDGB Presidium to spare the state budget.

Gerlach Supports 'Earliest Possible' Elections

LD0912091189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0315 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR State Council Chairman Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach spoke in favor of the earliest possible new elections at all levels in an interview for the newspaper DER MORGEN [paper of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany].

In the interview published today, Prof Gerlach, who is also LDPD chairman, stressed that the present composition of the People's Chamber is not in line with the will of the people. He could envision the election of a president of the republic instead of the State Council chairman. This should, however, be decided by the people in direct elections.

With regard to taking over the office of the State Council chairman, Manfred Gerlach told the paper: "I really am not happy because I am and must be an 'interim solution,' but this is what I want to be since I feel responsible to the people and my oath to the People's Chamber after—and I see this as a correct and important decision—Egon Krenz announced his resignation." He himself had taken on this task out of a feeling of obligation and for a short time.

The LDPD chairman supported built-in safeguards which exclude from the start excessive concentration of power and unrestricted satisfaction of the thirst for power. This included putting limits on terms of office. "No publication, no party, or organization should in the future act without democratic controls—there must be no office, no man, no sphere which is not subject to democratic control," Gerlach added. All those occupying a public function must stand in the public light so that the public continually keeps an eye on them.

"I very strongly urge a time limit on the terms of office for party leaders, and also for elected politicians in the state," he stressed. "In my view, two or three terms of office at the most are sufficient. And since I have already served them, it is clear in my case that in new elections, whether in the state or in the party, I am no longer available for the present functions."

LDPD Formulates Draft Electoral Law

LD0812175189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1704 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The secretariat of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] National Executive has worked out a "draft law on the election of elected bodies in the GDR—Electoral law." [passage omitted]

The draft envisions a citizen not being allowed to be a deputy of an elected body for more than two terms of office. The People's Chamber should not consist of more than 400 deputies.

The LDPD calls for only political parties that were formed across the whole territory of the GDR being allowed to put forward candidates. Independent candidates also could be included in these nominations. The parties would put up their candidates on their own lists, it says in the draft. In order to give smaller parties the opportunity to put forward candidates at the level of towns and communities, the draft envisions uniting of the lists of several parties in order to avoid fragmentation in local assemblies. A qualification is suggested, according to which only those parties receiving 3 percent of the valid votes in the electoral area will be taken into account in allocating seats. A means of assuring really free, secret, and democratic elections also is proposed in the draft.

This information emerges from an interview which DER MORGEN conducted with Christian Renatus, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the LDPD National Executive, on important aspects of the LDPD document. The interview was pre-released to ADN.

Cultural League Leaves Democratic Bloc

LD0812164489 East Berlin ADN International Service German 1620 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Cultural League is leaving the Democratic Bloc. This was decided at the latest session of its working presidium in Berlin on 8 December. At the same time, it was proposed that a coalition committee of the parties and organizations represented in the People's Chamber be formed which can be informed and consulted about government policy. Addressing the participants in the roundtable, the organization demands that its representatives at a regional and national level be able to put forward their views on cultural and social renewal in the GDR.

In an appeal to all citizens, to workers, peasants, cultural and intellectual workers, the working presidium rejects neo-fascism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia and appeals to the "reason of reasonable people." "Anarchy, chaos, demogogy and use of violence" should not block the chances of radical renewal by the forces of reason.

Modrow, Ministers Meet Economic Managers

LD0912102689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0855 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A working meeting between the government and economic managers began in Berlin today with speeches by Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Economics Minister Christa Luft on economic reform in the GDR. The participants are 290 director generals of combines and foreign trade enterprises, the chairmen of bezirk [area] economic councils and bezirk construction directors.

Frau Luft, who is also vice premier, spoke in favor of an unvarnished analysis of the situation in the country. After this there should be an understanding on the necessary stabilization measures as a first stage of economic reform.

Problems Discussed

LD0912132989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The upcoming economic reform in the GDR is the hard core of the renewal of socialism in the country. This was said by GDR Premier Hans Modrow this morning at the working discussion between the government and managers of the economy.

It is necessary to secure the functioning of state organs. Referring to the fact that the break with the command economy should indeed be radical, but that decoupling from the old system should not, however, lead to chaos, the head of government set out a deep-reaching analysis of the situation of the GDR national economy.

He noted the falling growth rates in real economic performances and labor productivity. Modrow pointed to open and hidden price rises and to gaps in supply. The purchasing power of the GDR mark has fallen. The surplus between 1986 and 1988 was 10-12 billion marks. Violations of the performance principle, disturbances of rhythm, political tutelage, and painting things in rosy colors have clearly weakened the motives for an increase in performance.

With a view to the permanent labor force deficit, Modrow rejected the practice which can be seen of refusing employment in enterprises to SED members and former employees of security organs. This has nothing to do with the dignity of the state and with decency.

The GDR's foreign debts with regard to the nonsocialist economic area were estimated by Modrow at $20.6 billion. It has not yet been possible to develop a GDR-typical export structure. [passage omitted]

Modrow Outlines Tasks

LD0912155989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1348 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin ADN—At a working meeting with economic managers in Berlin today, Premier Hans Modrow announced that a governmental commission will be formed to prepare the reform of the economy. A working group already being formed within the Council of Ministers is dealing with the problems linked to this.

Thus, the legislative plan must be supplemented by significant steps for economic law. A document on the aims, tasks, and stages of economic reform will be conveyed to the People's Chamber. [passage omitted]

At present the State Planning Commission is not in a position to balance the plan for 1990. For this reason the most important tasks aimed at stabilizing the economy will have to be formulated in an immediate program. [passage omitted]

Modrow also outlined the government's view on a totally independent state bank in the future. A two-tier system with a separation of issuing and administrative functions is necessary.

While preserving the state monopoly on foreign trade, it is necessary, as in other spheres, to increase the independence of director-generals. Progressive forms of the international division of labor should be used to a greate extent. Modrow outlined the legislative groundwork being prepared by the government, which will last until capital transfer has been effected in joint ventures. Interim solutions will be in force until a final decision by parliament—a constitutional change is needed.

Modrow also said that the Council of Ministers has decided to subordinate the existing Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management to the Council of Ministers and to reshape it into an institute for enterprise management.

The new government chief's remarks were followed by a discussion.

Need for Change Seen

LD0912174389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—General managers of combines and foreign trade enterprises, chairmen of area economic councils, and area construction managers have expressed their support for the ideas on economic reform set out by the GDR government in a working discussion with Premier Hans Modrow. [passage omitted]

Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil spoke in support of better integration of the GDR in the world economy. He recalled that the GDR's share in world trade at present is 1.2 percent, whereas in the case of the FRG it is 12 percent. In GDR structural policy, one should now at last be clear about the areas in which the economy of the country has the best preconditions. It is a matter of concentrating on these. More intense participation in international cooperative relations is indispensable for the GDR.

The minister said that a number of foreign firms have already set out proposals on cooperative relations with GDR partners. It is a matter of carefully examining these offers from the point of view of the extent to which they can contribute to solving the GDR's acute problems. On the other hand, GDR enterprises should also show initiative and address suitable partners with their own plans. Beil pleaded with emphasis for more intense integration of foreign trade in industry. [passage omitted]

The economic reform should be clearly linked with an ecologically oriented structural policy, Environment Minister Hans Reichelt added.

The chairman of the state planning commission was the last speaker in the discussion. Gerhard Schuerer said, concerning the published positions of the commission, that they will contain many proposals from the general managers. [passage omitted]

There was then a short but animated debate on questions of the balance, plan, and spare parts, in which disappointment was also expressed on solutions offered to date. "Work is not getting done any more," it was said, and that should change.

Prime Minister Hans Modrow stated at the end of the daylong discussion that the last phase of the discussion has shown how sharply certain economic questions are being raised. While the government has had to deal most recently with problems of political life, it is now a matter of turning more decisively to tasks facing the country's economy. Work on the 1990 plan and efforts to conclude the current plan are absolutely at the forefront. Modrow spoke of a particular seriousness about the situation. It is now a matter of strengthning the awareness that only the productive performance of all working people can carry through the economy and its reform. [passage omitted]

Vogel To Fight for Political Prisoners' Release

LD0912173689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1649 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The lawyer and notary Professor Dr Wolfgang Vogel stated on Saturday that Prime Minister Hans Modrow had convinced him that the lawyers in the GDR also had a national task to fulfill in this complicated time. "We can make considerable contributions to calm, level-headedness, and practices concomitant with a state based on the rule of law. A priority task for us must be to strive within the framework of our mandates, so that there are no more political prisoners by the end of the year. I intend to keep working on this mandate," he said in a statement to ADN. [passage omitted]

Moscow Statement on 1968 Invasion Viewed

AU0812143889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Dec 89 p 2

[Alfred Guenther editorial: "Freed From a Burden"]

[Text] The Moscow statement on the invasion of the CSSR 21 years ago is a document of fundamental importance. Even though the statement that the action of the troops of Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, and the USSR was interference into the internal affairs of the sovereign CSSR can no longer be considered as a new insight today—parliaments of the states involved have already noted this and many citizens of these countries have been aware of this for 2 decades—but the joint condemnation of the invasion by the representatives of the five countries was necessary. It is not only an act of historical justice, it also puts a final end to the chapter of "special" relations between socialist countries, which were not subject to the basic principles of international law, a chapter which has long been over and is called the Brezhnev Doctrine.

However, the thesis of the limited sovereignty of the Warsaw Pact states, which is justified by referring to the overall-interests of the socialist community that stand above everything, has been wrong from the very start. Even in Brezhnev's time it was no longer usable as an instrument of practical policy because of new factors in international development. And with Gorbachev, with the new policy initiated by him, a different relationship between the socialist countries has developed, which has paved the way for respecting the sovereignty and the different developments, for mutual respect and, therefore, for a new solidarity among them.

However, as late as on 21 August 1989, the 21st anniversary of the invasion of the CSSR, this paper published a contribution, which, on the basis of "arguments" provided by the then-leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, called the fateful application of the Brezhnev Doctrine against the CSSR historically necessary, and noted that a reassessment of this action would be inappropriate. This was the expression of support for the forces of inertia in the CSSR. Above all, however, this was backed by the fear of a development in the GDR, which would resemble the Prague Spring.

The friendly relationship, which has developed over decades between many citizens of the GDR and the CSSR despite the participation of members of our National People's Army in the 1968 invasion, is freed from a heavy burden by the collective self-criticism of the five states. This will certainly give new impetus to the relations among the people and thus to cooperation between the neighboring states, particularly since now the doors for a democratic development and the renewal of socialism have been opened in both countries.

Apology Made for 1968 Invasion of CSSR

AU0812150589 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 5 Dec 89 p 2

[Monika Graessler commentary: "Necessary Apology"]

[Text] Last Friday [1 December] the GDR People's Chamber apologized with sincere regret to the peoples of the CSSR that the GDR was one of those Warsaw Pact states which invaded the friendly country in connection with the political events in 1968. In a statement—which was adopted with six abstentions—the parliament at the same time expressed its respect and sympathetic feelings to the fraternal people for the initiated course of a fundamental democratic renewal of the society.

The apology for the wrong political decision made 20 years ago certainly came late, but it was unavoidable and necessary. With this, our parliament lived up to the will of the GDR citizens, which has been expressed by hundreds of thousands of people at demonstrations, and made the official reassessment of the 1968 action clear. It was only recently, said government spokesman Meyer at a news conference, that the then-security concept of the Warsaw Pact had been put above generally valid international law. We should have recognized earlier that this cannot be accepted and we should have assessed it in this way.

I do not want to anticipate the historians, who are to give a comprehensive, scientifically founded judgment on the events of the 1968-69 period. However, if one reads press statements of that time, one discovers some historical parallels. Those who called for democratic socialism in the CSSR at that time were called counterrevolutionaries or reactionary antisocialist forces by the GDR media and by the Moscow PRAVDA. The reformers were accused of, among other things, wanting to undermine the bases of socialism in the CSSR because they opposed the leading role of the Communist Party. (If this were the case, neither in the CSSR nor in the GDR had the constitutional claim to leadership by a party been given up these days.) The call for freedom of press, opinion, and organization was considered part of an antisocialist strategy of undermining. Calls for a pluralistic construction of the state were equalled with the restoration of the bourgeois state. Official efforts by some CSSR politicians to deepen relations with the FRG were misinterpreted as a blow against the Warsaw Pact....

Since a new way of thinking entered foreign policy, neither Berlin nor Moscow has questioned the fact that the processes that are taking place in the socialist countries are their internal affairs. Bulgaria, too, is now calling the invasion by the troops unjustified. At that time, however, one followed the call of the "healthy forces of the CSSR" and sent tanks. A serious mistake, because it has never, at any time, been possible to solve political questions by force or by threatening to use force.

Civil Treatment of Foreigners Urged

AU0812150789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Civil Treatment of Foreigners in Shops"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All necessary conditions for securing supplies for foreign citizens living permanently or temporarily in the GDR exist, the Ministry for Trade and Supply has reported. Like GDR citizens, this group of persons can buy their personal supplies of foodstuffs and industrial goods at any time.

The measures for the protection of the GDR domestic market are intended to prevent the sale of specific goods to foreign citizens who do not work or live permanently or temporarily in the GDR. Of course, this does not apply to food for immediate consumption, catering, and souvenirs, it was stated. The necessary instructions have been conveyed in English, Polish, Russian, Czech, and German to the shops concerned.

The regulations adopted for the sale of goods in the domestic trade network have been responsibly implemented in the businesses as regards all GDR and foreign citizens. The sales collectives have been told to treat foreign citizens in a civil and polite manner.

Talks on Travel, Customs Held With Poland

AU0812140389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR and PPR Have Concluded Negotiations on Tourist Travel and Frontier and Customs Services"]

[Text] East Berlin—Three-day negotiations between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic [PPR] on current problems of the development of bilateral relations, including issues of tourist travel and transit, as well as frontier and customs services, ended in Berlin on Friday [1 December]. The delegations were headed by GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Harry Ott and Boguslav Miernik, director general at the Polish Foreign Ministry. According to a statement by the GDR Foreign Ministry, the two delegations concurred in evaluating highly the significant achievements and values attained in the over 40 years of relations between the two states and peoples. They also affirmed the will to further strengthen and develop the friendly and good-neighborly relations between the GDR and PPR, and to amicably settle problems that arise. The head of the GDR delegation explained the tourist travel measures recently adopted by the GDR government, which correspond fully to international accords and conventions. He explained why they are necessary and stressed that they will be applied consistently in the future. He tried to dispel concerns of the Polish side that these measures are unilaterally directed against Polish citizens. He pointed out that State Council Chairman Egon Krenz had already suggested urgent talks on these problems during his visit to the PPR on 2 November 1989 and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Hans Modrow, in a letter addressed to Polish leaders at the beginning of November.

The GDR delegation head stressed that the measures adopted by the GDR Council of Ministers on 23 November 1989 had become necessary in order to prevent increasing purchases and the illegal export of GDR goods by foreign citizens. He stated that the misuse of tourist travel across the borders, involving the large-scale purchase of goods as well as smuggling and speculation practices, has increasingly prompted anger among the GDR population. The new rules ensure the same shopping rights that GDR citizens have to all foreign citizens who work in the GDR or are living permanently or temporarily in the GDR, the statement says. Concerning incidents and cases of misunderstanding mentioned by the head of the Polish delegation in connection with the treatment of Polish citizens, the head of the GDR delegation made it quite clear that these are individual cases. He apologized officially for these incidents.

The GDR side expressed satisfaction at the fact that the customs officials of the GDR and PPR are continuing and even want to intensify cooperation with the aim of limiting negative phenomena that occur in cross-border traffic.

According to a statement issued by the Polish delegation, the Polish side called for the withdrawal of the resolutions adopted by the GDR and for an end to the discriminating treatment of Polish citizens, and the observance of the treaties and agreements concluded between the two states. The Polish delegation expressed its disapproval about the misuse of tourism for speculation and illegal trade, the statement continues. It promised that corresponding measures will be taken. It also submitted proposals to maintain the efficiency of the work of the border and customs authorities in order to improve railroad traffic and to expand cooperation between the travel agencies in both states.

Recent Conflict With Poland Viewed

AU0812145689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Dec 89 p 2

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "Damage That Hurts"]

[Text] Relations between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic have been damaged recently. This hurts—for several reasons. A great deal of suffering has been inflicted upon the Polish people in the German name. Thus, it is quite understandable that the citizens of our neighbor country react most sensitively to everything that gives the impression of being "hostile to Poland." The fact that a new quality of the relations of friendship and good-neighborliness has developed between the two states during the past 40 years is being valued as a historic achievement on both sides of the Oder-Neisse border. It is in the interest of both states not to endanger these relations.

Taking this aspect into consideration, it is regrettable that unnecessary turbulences and tensions have arisen as a result of the measures adopted by the GDR government on 23 November because of pressure by the people. The steps taken by the GDR only serve the goal of preventing speculative purchases and the illegal export of goods from our country by foreign citizens. It must be made very clear that these measures are not directed against a certain state or citizens and, therefore, do not have an anti-Polish character. One cannot hold only Polish tourists responsible for the disorganization of the GDR market, Warsaw has stressed. One cannot deny that. Putting all the blame on one side is out of place. We have already rejected overall accusations in a commentary on 25-26 November, making it clear that we are against smugglers and speculators, "no matter what passport or identity card they hold."

However, the damage of cars of Polish citizens, the revilement of foreigners, and other negative incidents are disgraceful. The GDR ambassador has apologized on Polish television on behalf of the GDR Government. In this connection, it is to be welcomed that the Ministry of Trade and Supply has taken measures to prevent discriminatory treatment of foreign citizens in the future.

The problems must and can be settled amicably in a calm and businesslike atmosphere. The 3-day bilateral talks on tourist travel and customs services were an important step in this direction, even if the two sides have failed to reach a consensus on the central issue for the time being. The Polish side calls for the withdrawal of the decisions; much to the GDR's regret, they were not willing to sign regulations on further border crossings, tourism, customs control, etc, on which lengthy talks had been held.

What is important now are cautious action and a reflection on the contents of traditional cooperation as well as on the long-term interests of both states and peoples. Nobody, least of all the citizens in the two states, benefits from highly emotional disputes.

PAP Cites Spokesman on Polish Visitors

LD0912003889 Warsaw PAP in English 2207 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin. Dec. 8—At its recent meeting here, the GDR government examined its decision of November 23 on restrictions on foreigners who buy GDR products, on more strict border controls and changes in the transit traffic rules for those travelling from Poland to the FRG and West Berlin.

Spokesman for the GDR Government Wolfgang Meyer stressed the importance of work by foreigners, including the Poles, for GDR's economy and expressed the wish to continue that activity in line with the signed accords and agreements. Referring to cooperation with Poland the outcome of the Polish-GDR talks on restrictions on Polish visitors, the spokesman said that the GDR government would maintain and cultivate the good-neighbourly relations with Poland according to long-term interests of the two countries.

The spokesman did not mention any negative effects of those decisions. He did not say anything about a campaign waged against Polish citizens, either.

An adverse effect of the restrictions is a nearly complete block of the tourist traffic from Poland. The exchange between work establishments of the two countries also declined.

Fischer Says Relations With Israel Possible

LD0812181989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR government stands by its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with Israel without preconditions. This was stated in Berlin today by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in a talk with Siegmund Rotstein, president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, and Dr Peter Kirchner, vice president of the association and chairman of the Berlin Jewish Communities.

With regard to fears in Israel about a possible "reunification of Germany," Fischer put forward the view that Israel itself could reject these strivings with a clear commitment to the normalization of relations with the GDR.

Oskar Fischer said that the GDR would continue to work for a just and permanent solution to the Middle East conflict, which includes the implementation of the legitimate rights of all states and peoples in the region, including the Palestinian people. It also will adhere to its long-standing friendly relations with the other states in the region. Diplomatic relations should not be established to the detriment of other states.

The two sides agreed that in the socialist German state further efforts must be undertaken in society to continue antifascist education and deepen understanding of questions concerning the Jewish faith. This includes responsibility for crimes against the Jewish people.

Nyers, Gorbachev To Meet Again 'Soon'

LD1012023189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] Chairman Rezso Nyers and CPSU general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev are to meet again soon. This was announced by the HSP secretary for rural affairs at the party's conference in Hajdu-Bihar county.

Pal Vastagh, avoiding precise data, said the HSP is over the most difficult period of its organization. As the most important election goal of the party, the speaker noted the establishment of a strong, left-of-center coalition. According to the HSP rural secretary, it was a political mistake for the National Assembly to legitimize the Alliance of Free Democrats' initiative urging a referendum.

Communist Party Formed; Holds First Meeting

LD0812213789 Budapest MTI in English 2004 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 8 (MTI)—The organizing committee of the Communist Party of Hungary held its founding session in the XIIIth district HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] premises on Friday.

The organizers said they had registered 100 members, 40 people were present for the meeting, as many come from the countryside.

Following a brief description of the draft statutes and manifesto, a lively debate sprung up on the objectives, manifesto and potential allies of the party.

By the end of the session which lasted late into the night, the number of participants had dropped by half. People present voted by show of hands to found the Communist Party of Hungary.

The organizing and executive committee is to hold an ideological conference in January to discuss questions of party statutes and manifesto. They will be holding a general meeting in the last week of January to appoint the leadership.

'Political Summit' Opens in Budapest 8 Dec

Opening Day Described

LD0812204689 Budapest MTI in English 1857 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 8 (MTI)—As reported, a home political summit and a series of meetings for political dialogue are taking place in Budapest during this weekend.

On the first day, there was a meeting between leading officials of the National Assembly, the Government, 16 opposition parties and four parliamentary factions. The prime minister's 45-minute key-note address was followed by the report of the president of the National Planning Office and the minister of finance, said government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok at an international press conference on the summit on Friday.

The members of the government gave a briefing on the domestic and foreign political situation of the country, and on the economy, and on whether the inevitable measures will have a destabilizing effect. It was agreed that the agreement to be reached with the IMF is vital to preserve national solvency.

The participants underlined the importance of a dialogue initiated by parliament and the government, as it reinforces government legitimacy. The sides agreed to establish regular dialogue.

The prime minister was quoted by the spokesman as saying that this continuous consultation could play the part of a political filter, which would assist the decision-preparing activity of the government by holding a debate in advance on bills the government plans to put forward to parliament.

The meeting indicated that the opposition parties have not yet reached agreement on the date of the new parliamentary elections. The Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Hungarian People's Party and the governing Hungarian Socialist Party want to hold the election at the earliest date, in February or March 1990. They regard the establishment of the freely elected Parliament as the most important step in the Hungarian shift in system. Other parties, such as the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, believe the new Parliament should be elected in June to enable unknown political parties to gain adequate support among the population.

However, there seems to be agreement that the country should not become ungovernable. On the other hand, the Alliance of Free Democrats holds the view that before the new Parliament, the government should not plan far-reaching irreversible measures, but should concentrate on maintaining home political stability and restoring economic balance.

However, the prime minister's standpoint is that he will submit to Parliament the bills considered to have key importance from the point of view of a peaceful transition even if Parliament dissolves at its December 18 session. The bills concerned are on the protection of state assets, state funds, the press, freedom of religion, private enterprise and public service. In view of the opinion of the opposition parties, the government pledged to review the electoral law. Miklos Nemeth pledged to involve the parties in the discussion of foreign political questions, and consequently in the shaping of the country's international relations.

Tomorrow, the government is to continue the dialogue with representatives of the social organizations.

In the wake of the press conference, leaders of several opposition parties criticized the fact that they could not participate in briefing the press. However, the spokesman said it was made clear at the consultation, that participants had the right to reveal what they wished about the home political summit held behind closed doors.

Nemeth on Avoiding Bankruptcy

LD1012040589 Budapest MTI in English 1957 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—On Saturday in Budapest, the negotiating delegations of the National Assembly and the government, headed by Acting Speaker Istvan Fodor and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, held a discussion on crucial questions affecting the country's future with leading representatives of the Agricultural Association, the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, the Patriotic People's Front, the National Association of Artisans, the National Association of Retailers, the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, the National Council of Industrial Cooperatives, the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT), the National Association of Consumer Cooperatives, the National Federation of Council Self-Governments, the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers and the National Association of Entrepreneurs.

After the session, journalists were told that the Saturday discussion mainly covered the planned measures to avoid economic bankruptcy, presented by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. The interest organizations noted the measures envisaged by next year's budget, including curtailment of subsidies, price rises, the immediate start of restructuring and company liquidations and the new system of financing housing costs. Such moves necessarily involve a strong inflationary pressure and a direct or indirect unfavourable effect on citizens. For instance, next year the number of the jobless is expected to rise twofold to 40,000-50,000. The plan was also criticized for not including firm anti-inflationary measures which the SZOT delegate termed as a basic deficiency of the budget.

With regard to the outlined government scheme, the National Association of Entrepreneurs regarded the government's view that at present the sole priority area is enterprise as unsound, as in their view the opposite holds true. According to the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT), the government repeated its debated plans, this time with the International Monetary Fund on its back. For this reason, the SZOT continues to advocate the urgent necessity of crisis management and will work out a strategy in response to the government measures.

As far as political issues were concerned, there was consensus that the parliamentary elections should be held in the second half of March, and Parliament and the government should remain responsible until they are replaced. Both the parties and the interest organizations are to have regular consultations with the government and Parliament during this period.

Nagy Briefs Workers Congress

LD1012043389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] The National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] general secretary has informed the Construction Workers' Trade Union congress about today's round in the national summit. Janos Hollos reports:

[Hollos] Esteemed Parliament, Esteemed Mr Premier: We protest against the planned raising of loans and interest on home-building and buying credits. We appeal to you not to include the draft law in the agenda. The situation is stretched to the breaking point due to the recently published and expected price rises. Embitterment and lack of confidence in Parliament and government have increased. Inasmuch as the esteemed Parliament puts the draft law on the agenda, we support the immediate dissolution of the National Assembly, since this Parliament will not represent the voters' interests. This open letter is the first result of the congress at which the Construction Workers' Trade Union is turning into a federation.

By the way, it also emerged that the construction workers are not only dissatisfied with the government's work, but with that of their own trade union, too. In the afternoon, Sandor Nagy, SZOT general secretary, spoke at the congress. He came straight from the Parliament building, in order to give firsthand information to the delegates on the results of talks with the government.

[Begin Nagy recording] Regarding concrete economic policy issues, we said that the economic processes of the year 1990, which of necessity will entail great difficulties, can be acknowledged by these trade unions if the government and Parliament accept our proposal regarding some basic conditions. Of primary importance among these is the freeing of wage regulation from all restrictions, that is, wage liberalization. In this, the standpoints have approached one another to such an extent that the condition in practice exists that at the initiative of the trade unions, the law might be discussed again at the Parliament session beginning on the 18th [of December], and that the law might free all restrictions on wage regulation. Thus, it appears that our main demand, that a wage negotiation mechanism take shape in Hungary, will successfully be achieved. [end recording]

Nemeth Outlines Government Stance

LD1012220889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] The national summit meeting has ended in Parliament House. At the news conference that followed, Premier Miklos Nemeth outlined the government's stance.

The head of government described it as necessary that the national summit should continue its work until the elections, in its present form, but mainly at the expert level. However, this coordination must not impede the sovereignty of either Parliament or the government. Since, according to our information, the matter of the government's coalition transition came up at the discussions, we asked the premier about this, as well.

Did the issue of the government's coalition transition come up and could the budget and the related draft bills be modified, or insofar as the National Assembly does not consider the budget acceptable in its present form, could the government resign?

[Begin Nemeth recording] It did come up, in a sharper form today in particular at the discussion I conducted with the committee leaders, whether we do not have it in mind to form a coalition government. Please, I am ready for that, as head of government, but I would like to say that the feelers that were put out in this direction—be it in the exclusive or the more general meetings—did not achieve results. I can understand, or I can accept this attitude on the part of the parties.

The representatives of the Monetary Fund also described the submitted budget and related draft bills as a program that gives hope for agreement. In other words, with regard to the cornerstones, the supporting pillars, I see no possibility for a great reorganization.

The other question is if the Parliament does not accept the budget, or one or another cardinal part of it. In that event, everybody has to be aware that the consequence of this could have unforeseeable effects. [end recording]

According to the premier's reasoning, neither his government nor any other could work out a new budget by mid-January. For this reason, they could not reach an agreement with the Monetary Fund, and then the country's reserves and its capacity to be financed would fall into danger. In this event, the government would ask that the country function until the elections on the basis of the 1989 regulations. After the elections, however, the new government could draw up a program by the end of May the earliest.

[Begin Nemeth recording] Having this program, the new government could begin discussions with the Monetary Fund about an agreement. Well, now, that brings us up to June. I state responsibly that without an agreement, the government cannot stay on its feet until June. [end recording]

Political Parties Present Stances

LD1012221989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Shortly after Nemeth's news conference, the representatives of the political parties taking part in the discussions also expressed their standpoints. Gyorgy Toth attended this event:

[Begin Toth recording] The overture consisted of the united stance of three parties that the Parliament should not dissolve itself. The Independent Hungarian Democrats, the People's Party, and the Christian Democratic People's Party were of the opinion that the opposition roundtable had pushed through an electoral bill that provides an opportunity for abuses. This, too, must be remedied.

The Independence Party, on the other hand, came forward with the demand that amends should be made to the Hungarian people for the 1956 Soviet intervention.

To go back to the elections, the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society was of the view that the forthcoming election will not yet reflect the real conditions.

As for the views of the three Social Democratic parties, they were as follows: the Social Democratic Party of Hungary—the elections must be held in March; the Independent Social Democratic Party—this Parliament must not perform its task in the longer perspective; and the Social Democratic Party—the preparation conditions are poor.

The Hungarian Radicals want elections as late as possible, while the Liberals approve of Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] Deputy Gyorgy Banffy's motion for self-dissolution. They support the government's endeavors to maintain stability, but they do not have adequate information about the economic situation. This is indispensable. At the same time, they know that without political stability, not a single penny will enter the country.

The Hungarian Green Party and Environmental Protectors raise their voice against the sale of natural treasures and to demand that operating capital should not be allowed to import into Hungary environment-polluting technologies prohibited elsewhere.

The Alliance of Free Democrats finds the publicity on discussions and economic data lacking. On the other hand, if the government implements its program with regard to the loss-making plants and its wage-increasing concepts, then it shows courage. The conditions for the elections are given. The present Parliament and government should be transitional.

The MDF acknowledges the IMF's conditions, which demand great sacrifices. It is a pity that they did not know about these, did not know about these before.

The government asked for understanding, patience, and support, but it is a question of burdens of such dimensions that their effect has to be attenuated with moderating measures, and as many as possible of the unjustified [word indistinct], which irritate people must be abolished. The government gave its assurance that it will not make use of the tool of social demagogy. [end recording]

HSP's Berecz, Pal Address Party Meetings

LD1012024989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] At the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] aktiv in County Szolnok, Janos Berecz emphasized that there is a national interest in a strong left wing in the country, because otherwise Parliament and the government will shift to the right. At the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] Szolnok town meeting, Laszlo Pal, member of the National Presidium, said that they do not want walls which cannot be dismantled to rise between the HSP and the HSWP. However, the establishment of relations depends on the resolutions of the HSWP's 14th congress.

Berecz Speaks at MSZMP Meeting

LD1012032189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Report by Eva Cseh on the local Hungarian Socialist Workers Party meeting in Szolnok on 9 December]

[Text] Withdraw Imre Pozsgay's candidacy for president of the Republic, it was said in the Szolnok Culture House at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] county conference, where roughly 400 people listened enraptured to Janos Berecz. Although the MSZMP was knocked to the floor, the comrades found one another, and, if this remains so, it will become insurmountable, and, from a party of old people, it will be transformed into one of the young. The party will be taken on, even if it is constituted solely of pensioners, because 2.5 million pensioners live in Hungary. There are plans now to take away the fruit of their work for 40 years, said Janos Berecz. In his speech, he fiercely attacked the right wing, the Hungarian Socialist Party, the government, and the Hungarian Democratic Youth League. He also chastised the press, which he described not as having been liberated, but as having broken loose.

Official Describes Budget Deficit

LD0512062389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Deputies from three countries met today. The telex has just arrived—it is completely fresh; here it is in my hands—and the deputies heard astonishing news at this meeting. According to this, instead of the previously signaled 21 billion forints, this year's budget deficit wil be 49 billion forints. What is especially awkward, regarding this, is that this has emerged only since the recently concluded National Assembly, where, as it is known, the deputies debated about the economic program.

At the meeting of County Szolnok deputies, Peter Kunos, state secretary in the Ministry of Finance, said that IMF experts next year are expecting from the government a further radical reduction in the payments balance deficit. If this does not happen, the credit may be completely turned off. Therefore, the government is invariably moving on a course of economic constraint; it is compelled to take a series of unpopular measures to reduce the deficit rolled in front of it to the awaited level. According to the state secretary, the internal reserves are so minimal that if the deputies do not adopt the draft budget to be submitted, we will be compelled, within a short time, to declare insolvency.

Transylvania Association Urges Boycott of Romania

LD0912194589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] There was a public law, politics, and science conference in Debrecen today entitled "Responsibility for Transylvania." The organizer of the conference, the Transylvania Association, adopted a recommendation containing practical proposals for a solution and a statement urging the international settlement of Transyslvania's status.

An unequivocal acceptance of political responsibility is necessary because of the increasingly alarming fate of the Magyars who live in Transylvania. The time has come when solidarity is not enough; action is necessary. By now it is obvious: The Romanian leadership, which has a monolithic outlook, is unwilling to reassuringly settle the tragic situation that has developed around the national minority there. All this prompts the Transylvania Association operating in our country to request international assistance and neutrality in favor of a solution. The essence of the statement just formulated, which sums up public law and minority policy standpoints, is that the European countries should place Romania under a diplomatic boycott. The Transylvania Association will convey this standpoint to the European Parliament and to the UN organization.

Budapest By-Election Results Nullified

LD1012000489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] In the 14th electoral district of Budapest 5th district, the by-election results were declared void, since only 41 percent of those eligible voted.

This was reported by the president of the local election committee as a preliminary final result. Incidentally, the majority of the valid votes—that is, more than 45 percent of them—went to Miklos Gaspar Tamas, joint candidate of the Free Democrats, Young Democrats, the Smallholders' Party, and the Social Democrats. In accordance with the election law, the by-election has to be repeated.

Opposition Leader on Reforms, Neutrality

AU0412103689 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 29 Nov 89 p 6

[Carl G. Stroehm report: "Hungary's Opposition Leader in Favor of Neutrality That is Friendly Toward the Soviets"]

[Text] Budapest—"In connection with German unity, I recently said that it is on ice. But now German unity is no longer on ice. Today German unity is getting completely new prospects. It is becoming a question of utmost importance for Europe." These are the words with which Jozsef Antal, the newly elected chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), begins the talk. We are facing him in his office in Budapest's Semmelweis Museum for Medical History: heaps of files and newspapers between Biedermeier furniture. Since medical historian Antal turned into a politician overnight in the course of democratization in Hungary, he has been swamped with letters, files, and visitors, because it has become known that the next Hungarian premier of a government to be elected through free elections could be Jozsef Antal.

Antal is one of those Hungarians who were politically put on ice, so to speak, during the communist Kadar regime. During the 1956 popular uprising, he organized the Christian-Democratic youth; after the crush, he withdrew to his scientific career. Now the 57-year-old is back in the political arena and smilingly recounts how recently, after a meeting of his party somewhere in the Hungarian provinces, a peasant approached him, calmly took 5,000 forints out of his pocket—in Hungary this is almost a monthly wage for a worker—put the money into the party chairman's hand, and said: "Do something against the Communists with this!"

Antal defines the position of his party—which, according to opinion polls, can expect more than 40 percent of the votes at elections—as a synthesis of Christian-Democratic movements with the classical Hungarian liberalism and the traditions of the Hungarian "traditionalists" [Volkstuemler], who had organized in the 1930's as an agrarian party with strong patriotic and social sentiments.

The liberal constitutional state and parliamentarism belong to the MDF program. Already during the 1956 popular uprising, it was realized that a "strong centrist party" had to develop in Hungary. Said Antal: "We need a strong basis to build a constitutional state and social market economy." He is aware of the fact that the latter definition comes from Ludwig Erhard. "Thus, we have taken this over from the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union [CDU/CSU]."

"We are a people's party, and therefore we have intensive contacts with the European people's parties—with the CDU/CSU and the other Christian democrats in Europe," Antal says, defining the position of his political colleagues. But at the same time the MDF chairman is thinking beyond the horizon of his own party. For Hungary it is important that a strong social democracy develops. For Hungary's European policy it is necessary that "all European parties have their partners here in the country." Among the reestablished Hungarian political parties there are some which are not very far away from the MDF's political position: for instance, the Small Landholders Party (which had the absolute majority in Hungary until 1948) or the Christian-Democratic Party. Antal admits that both parties certainly have good chances at the parliamentary elections.

When he speaks about his party's economic program, Antal shows that he does not think much of the widespread phrases about "reformed socialism." First, he notes that Hungary cannot master its serious economic crisis without Western aid and, in particular, without Western capital. Then the MDF chairman says: "We want a private economy. Thus, there must be a far-reaching privatization and a return to personal ownership. Of course, this cannot be done beginning today and ending tomorrow, because then the entire system would collapse. Therefore, it must be achieved step by step. The privatization must take place in agriculture, industry, and in trade. Of course, communal or public enterprises are to be maintained, but they have to be managed like a private company, as done in Austria or in Western Europe."

The MDF chairman thinks that Hungary will need 5 to 8 years until economic and policy reform will have an effect and will show positive results. He says that the preconditions for keeping this schedule are: "If the U.S.-Soviet and West European-Soviet relations remain as good as they are today and do not deteriorate; if the direction of reforms in the Soviet Union is maintained and Gorbachev remains in power—and provided that the serious economic, social, and national problems of the USSR do not lead to a deformation of Moscow's policy; thus, if no countermovement starts against Gorbachev in the Soviet Union; if the reform process continues and a destabilization does not occur in the other East Bloc countries"—to which the party or army might then react adversely.

However, even under the most favorable external conditions, things will be "very difficult" for Hungary. In some regions large-scale unemployment might develop—where the "unproductive Stalinist heavy industry" is concentrated. If it is not possible to retrain the workers and to give them new jobs, a basis against the reform and democracy and for the "conservative Communists" might develop there, because, as Antal says, the worker is not interested in whether the enterprise is productive or unproductive as long as he is paid relatively well in an unproductive enterprise.

One can no longer speak of a uniform communist movement in Hungary. There are the communist "fundamentalists," who do not want to give up power and, on principle, do not want a multiparty system. "For 40 years many people were integrated into this communist system." For many members of the older generation, this is not only a political but an existential question: The people want to keep their social status. Of course, there are also communist extremists, but the actual core are the "Kadarists," whose leader, according to Antal, is former party chief Karoly Grosz. Antal says that there cannot be a coalition or cooperation with them—"no matter what name they might chose."

Things are different concerning the Hungarian Socialist Party (USP), which developed out of the Communist Party, and its chairman Rezso Nyers, to which Premier Nemeth and Imre Pozsgay belong. A coalition with this party is conceivable, "provided the people accept pluralism, democracy, and the Constitution"—and provided that they develop into a "truly parliamentary party." Unfortunately, this reformist socialist party is very weak at the moment—far weaker than the "fundamentalists" and the "Kadarists." However, this is not good for Hungary—neither in domestic nor in foreign policy. "If this party were stronger, it would be easier to establish stability and to reassure the Soviet Union."

The MDF chairman formulates clear conditions for potential cooperation with the reformist socialists around Nyers and Pozsgay: His party will not enter any coalition before the parliamentary elections next spring. Furthermore, it is not willing to form a government only together with the ex-Communists, but only with the participation of several opposition parties. And he continues: "We are not willing to leave key ministries to the reformist socialists or former communists after the elections, as was done in Poland." Perhaps one can talk about leaving the Defense Ministry to the socialists during the initial period, provided a civilian official heads the military ministry, and not a general as in the past. But the Interior Ministry and the Transportation Ministry—that is, the ministries that are important for the state's infrastructure—will not be left to the former communists under any circumstances. Says Antal: "We will in no way enter a coalition in which these ministries, which are focuses of power, are in the hands of the other side and in which ministries that are unpopular for social issues remain with us." A new edition of the "salami tactics"—this is what the Hungarian Communists called the destruction of the bourgeois-democratic forces bit-by-bit—must not happen.

Antal said that the remote goal of Hungarian politics is the status of neutrality. But: Hungary must not in any case pursue an anti-Soviet policy. "After all, we are located in this geographical spot." He hopes very much that the Soviet troops stationed in the country will leave Hungary during the first third of the 1990's. Antal: "This would further improve our relations with Moscow. It must be our goal to have relations with the Soviet Union that are as good as those with Finland or Austria. Thus, the Soviet Union can feel reassured that Hungary will never be an anti-Soviet frontline state. As soon as we are completely independent and free, we will not have any problems with the Russian people and Russian culture. When our hand is free, we can extend it to the peoples of the Soviet Union. We are pursuing realpolitik."

At the end of the talk, Antal becomes very serious when he tells us that it is precipitate and too early to call the development in the East "irreversible." Says the MDF chairman: "The Communists in the Soviet Union understand that one cannot continue with the old methods. But in politics there is not only reason, but also irrationality. It may be that certain people in the Soviet nomenklatura do not think so much of what would be good for the Soviet Union or for the Russian people, but only of what is of advantage to themselves. Such people exist everywhere in the East, also in Hungary. As soon as the foreign policy situation deteriorates, they will become active. We hope that this will not happen, because this would be a terrible misjudgment of reality and a tragedy for the East and for the whole world. But one cannot rule this out."

Therefore, Antal says in conclusion, the MDF is of the opinion that one has to "act quickly" and has to hold democratic elections as quickly as possible and establish democratic institutions in Hungary, because: "if there is a legitimate parliamentary-democratic system here in Hungary, it will not be quite so easy to carry out a communist restoration."

Coordination of Economic Interests Viewed

AU0412165289 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth, Trade Minister Tamas Beck, Agriculture and Food Industry Minister Csaba Hutter, and Csaba Halmos, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs, by Rober Gal in Parliament on 24 November: "Everyone Is Interested in the Coordination of Interests"]

[Text] An appeal by the trade unions gathered in the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] was published on Tuesday last week. One of the points of this appeal calls for the establishment of efficient new institutions for the coordination of interests, based on agreements. We need a legal regulation that does not hinder but, through guarantees, promotes the defense of the employee's interests and represents both the rights and obligations of all the sides. On the concluding day of the November session of the National Assembly, we asked Miklos Nemeth and two government members, as well as the chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs, about the coordination of economic interests that they consider it will be possible to implement.

Trade Minister Tamas Beck: As a former official of the Hungarian Economic Chamber, I find the Austrian system to be the most attractive. In the so-called three-legged system, the trade unions negotiate with the association of the economic, trade, and industrial chambers. The government intervenes only if the two prestigious organizations cannot agree. The fact that hardly any strikes have broken out in Austria in the last 25 years and that the economy is developing steadily well proves the efficiency of the Austrian system of coordinating interests.

The Hungarian trade unions and the associations of economic chambers should also create a similar modern system of coordination in Hungary because, sooner or later, each town will have its own chamber. Our government should also intervene in the process only if the two sides cannot agree. Of course, this requires that the ownership functions be settled, because the Hungarian Economic Chamber fulfills the tasks of the National Federation of Manufacturers only with difficulty and irregularly. To sum it up: For a civilized state and economic leadership, it is essential that the bodies that represent economic interests function well and that their activity be up-to-date.

Agriculture and Food Industry Minister Csaba Hutter: Due to the variety of agricultural activity, the coordination of interests differs according to the various branches. The representation of interests in production cooperatives—in general meetings, leadership activity, and in the meetings of workplace communities—is functioning adequately. The situation is different in the state agricultural cooperatives, and different in the food industry and forestry. No doubt, the bodies that represent interests are developing because only this way can they be attractive to their members.

I must also mention something which I not only observed but also suffered. In recent decades, the agricultural sector has guaranteed a considerable percentage of the increase in our standard of living. However, today its capacity to bear burdens has dropped considerably. We can change this if we recognize the sector's work in the consumer prices. We need a new pricing system, namely a free pricing system. The trade unions have nevertheless opposed this. It is also in the interest of the trade union members employed in the agricultural and food industry sectors to have a more realistic value judgment.

Csaba Halmos: In the coordination of interests, I regard the partners' legitimacy as the most important thing. Only legitimate partners can sign and keep agreements. This refers to the government's negotiating group, the trade unions, and the Economic Chamber alike. I have experienced positive processes among those who participate in the coordination of interests. However, an up-to-date system of economic institutions has to emerge as soon as possible. Unlike its name, the National Council for the Coordination of Interests deals almost exclusively with wage issues. In the future, it will mainly deal with manpower and market issues. In my view, we lack a macro-level forum for the coordination of interests which carries out a systematized, rather than an arbitrary coordination ofinterests. We must create this organization as soon as possible. Of course, in addition, autonomous councils for the coordination of interests can also emerge, which will help the activity to coordinate economic interests in matters of pricing, social policy, and the manpower market. We must also create a medium-level coordination of interests as soon as possible.

Miklos Nemeth: First of all, I expect a good draft bill from the coordination of interests, because for the time being the concepts are unclear. Of course, I also expect a much more differentiated structure and mechanism of interests. I still do not see any of these. In this respect, the government has advanced more than the bodies that represent interests. There is a lot of work ahead, and we are still only at the beginning of the road.

FIDESZ Renounces Government Financial Support

LD0412121189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] FIDESZ [Alliance of Young Democrats] weekend was organized in Bekescsaba. Eva Cseh reports:

[Begin Cseh recording] The FIDESZ has renounced three-quarters of the support of 4 million forints offered by the government—that is, three million forints.

All this was decided at the first provincial council meeting of FIDESZ over the weekend in Bekescsaba. As is known, the government has decided what sort of financial support should be given to the various parties. However, the FIDESZ does not consider the distribution objective, because the organizations are supported by the government on the basis of their membership number despite the fact that it did not check the authenticity of this, and thus, certain parties can obtain disproportionately large sums.

Therefore, as a protest to this, FIDESZ is only willing to accept the one million forint which every organization can receive after the court registration, regardless of their membership number. [end recording

Szabolcs Deputies Urge Assembly Dissolution

LD0612050589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] The reports related to the National Assembly are proliferating. Zsuzsa Varkonyi gives an account of the stand, formed today, by the County Szabolcs group of deputies:

[Begin Varkonyi recording] The National Assembly deputies from county Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg unanimously took the stand that at its next session Parliament should dissolve itself, so that the power relations are settled as soon as possible and so that the election of National Assembly deputies is called as soon as possible. This is the step of the future, they emphasized. It is not a matter of (?giving) themselves extreme unction before execution, but that an end must be brought to this cat-and-dog game, to this fuss. This is the moment for a change of system; it is in this spirit that they are relinquishing. It is not an escape, since the Parliament which has undergone many storms and much criticism for 4 and ½ years is ceasing to exist de jure, but will function until the new elections. Otherwise, if the House Rules are to allow it, the Szabolcs deputies would boycott the agenda of the 18 December session. They believe that those for whom this is their main purpose are forcing them into a legislative dictatorship, into a hysteria of amending laws, thereby discrediting parliament. Of the planned 19 agenda points, there should be discussion of only those which serve the country's ability to function, until the free elections.

Trade Union Federation of Ironworkers Formed

LD0412002389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] The ironworkers have been meeting in Hungary. Tibor Hollauer reports on their 2-day meeting:

[Begin Hollauer recording] The Trade Union Federation of Iron, Metal and Electric Power Industry Workers has been formed. It represents some 600,000 workers. Its president is Laszlo Paszternak, who was the general secretary of the hitherto Iron Metal and Electric Power Industry Workers' Trade Union. The first action of the new trade union federation was a letter addressed to Premier Miklos Nemeth, in which they ask that government submit to the December session of parliament a draft law ensuring full wages liberalization, on whose basis, as from the beginning of next year, every type of central wages regulation would cease to exist.

The letter also contains the demand that henceforth it should be possible to sell state enterprises only with the assent of the organisations which represent the interests of employees. The 30th Congress of the Vasas Trade Union, which thus became the first founding congress of the federation, also decided that 40 percent of revenues from membership dues should accrue to the central apparatus, while 60 percent should remain at the base organizations. The size of the strike fund will be decided at a closed session; on the basis of contributions that were made, this probably will be 10 percent of revenues—that is, approximately 50 million forints. [end recording]

Some Meat Products, Alcohol Prices Rise

LD0412220189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Today the consumer price of certain meat products, refrigerated industry goods, and alcohol went up. According to a communique, the price rise is not nationwide. Only several producing and trade enterprises have availed themselves of this, and they raised only the consumer price of some free-price products. This also means that consumers may run across differing prices in the various shops. The prices of refrigerating industry products increased 10-30 percent.

Hertz salami, henceforth, will be sold for 420 forints, instead of 360, per kg; paprika salami will be offered for 440 forints per kg. The price of paraszt sausage will also go up, from 240 forints to 300 forints.

The Budapest liqueur industry enterprise also raised the price of alcoholic items because of an increase in transport costs and bank interest.

Kohl Accepts Poland's Western Border

*LD0812201689 Warsaw PAP in English
1815 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] Brussels, Dec 8—Addressing the European Community summit in Strasbourg on Friday, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl for the first time accepted Poland's western border on the Odra and Nysa rivers, REUTERS and AFP agencies reported.

Commentaries Published on Changes in GDR

Arrest of Officials Viewed

*AU0712105589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 4 Dec 89 pp 1,5*

[Commentary by Jerzy Wierzcholowski, RZECZPOSPOLITA Berlin correspondent: "The Arrest of Former Leading Personalities"]

[Text] The resignation of the central authorities of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]—the Central Committee and Politburo, together with E. Krenz; the expulsion from the SED of E. Honecker, former premier W. Stoph, and former parliamentary speaker H. Sindermann, plus nine other party dignitaries; and the arrest of two of Honecker's closest colleagues: G. Mittag, responsible for the economy, and H. Tisch, former trade union chief, on charges of embezzlement and corruption—has all taken place under enormous pressure from a population that has protested in the streets of Berlin, Potsdam, Magdeburg, and other cities. On Sunday, an enormous human chain from north to south and from east to west was formed, to the accompaniment of calls for peace and democracy. That is a concise description of another momentous weekend in the GDR, 2 and 3 December.

The fire was lit on Friday, when Parliament heard a report by the commission investigating the cases of embezzlement and corruption. The dismal picture conjured up by this report, revealing the Mafia-like activities of former leading party figures, has been exacerbated by the present government's complete ignorance of the present situation, including those responsible for security and domestic order. The parliamentary deputies did not conceal their shame and disgust. How cheated the ordinary citizen watching this dismal spectacle on television must have felt.

Fuel to the fire was provided by Saturday's news about the discovery of a secret arms cache belonging to the IMES company, which was under the control of Schalk-Golotkowski, secretary of state in the ministry of foreign trade and Honecker's confidante, who had been indulging in dirty business. On Sunday came a bombshell which many journalists had foreseen—Golotkowski was reported as having disappeared. On Saturday he had still been on an official visit to Bonn. Who allowed him to escape? Why had he not been arrested earlier? The order to arrest him was not issued until Saturday, it was said on television. Premier Modrow said that from these facts it was necessary to draw conclusions as to the work of the relevant services.

That, in a nutshell, is the background to the latest events, whose causes lie much deeper, of course. As a result, the demands of the two halves of GDR society are equal—the SED side, whereby SED members have demanded the resignation of the authorities; and the "nonparty" side, where people have taken to the streets of Potsdam, Magdeburg, and other places, called for the resignation of Krenz and others who are charged with corruption and embezzlement, and demanded an end to the Stalinist system of power and thorough political and economic changes. "Honecker to prison, "We do not want political gangsters," "Egon, take your hat and go," and "Down with the SED"" are some of the slogans that have appeared on banners. I saw many of them in front of the SED building. But there was also one which read: "Hans, clean this up and we will help you" (Hans is Premier Modrow).

I think all this adequately shows the moods among party and nonparty people in the SED. The universality of these moods is best illustrated by the participation of hundreds of thousands of people who, at the initiative of the Christian organization called "Penance," formed a human chain for the sake of freedom and democracy. However, this was not a chain of Christian humility, but one of social opposition.

The point is to rescue the party and the GDR, said Gregol Gysi, a lawyer, to the crowds in front of the Central Committee building in Berlin on Sunday. Grysi heads the social commission which will prepare for the extraordinary SED congress in the place of the party authorities that were dethroned at a special Central Committee session. This congress will take place in almost 2 weeks time. Apart from Premier Modrow, no one from the present SED leadership belongs to this commission. I asked a policeman on guard duty outside the SED building what he thinks of all this. It was necessary, he replied. Late in the evening, television announced a program with the significant title "The End Or The Beginning?"

'Ideological Earthquake' Discussed

*LD0712052789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2215 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[From the "World Panorama" program presented by (?Blanka Miecinska) and Andrzej Zychowicz]

[Excerpt] [(?Miecinska)] The GDR is experiencing an earthquake. It is an ideological earthquake. Each day an avalanche of events is destroying the facade of an orderly communist state. No one believes any more that the Germans regard order and obedience as the highest values. Today's Germans watch the disintegration of communism in the GDR with delight.

[Zychowicz] The resignation of Egon Krenz from the post of Council of State chairman and the fact he is being replaced in this post by Manfred Gerlach, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, manifest this. For the first time, a noncommunist becomes the Council of State leader. If we add to this that Gerlach has been a supporter of reforms for a long time, before the 2-month dismantling of the totalitarian system began, the change takes a symbolic significance. The dissolution, a temporary dissolution of the National Defense Council, after the resignation of Egon Krenz from the post of its chairman, manifests this as well. This is the highest state authority and [word indistinct] with the Army.

[(?Miecinska)] As usual the downfall of the order that has been in force reveals the dirty interior of power. Morbid corrupt affairs are being revealed, which are being associated with the very elite of those in power for many years. The secret police are looking for Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, a secretary of state in the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is being accused of smuggling weapons and hard currency. [passage omitted]

Rakowski Briefed on Party Workers Based in GDR

LD0812114989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski has been briefed at a meeting in Warsaw on moods prevailing among members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], particularly in the context of preparations to the 11th party congress, by members of party organizations active in the GDR, and belonging to BUDIMEX, PROCHEM, and MOSTOSTAL [Polish construction companies]. Sensitive problems faced by over 30,000 Poles employed in the GDR were also discussed.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee asked the representatives to give his assurance to party organizations in the GDR and Polish workcrews employed there that intense measures to normalize the situation of Polish citizens temporarily employed in the GDR or visiting the GDR are being taken through state and party contacts.

Views, Statements on German Unification Presented

Presidential Spokesman

AU1112133689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report on statement by Wlodzimierz Lozinski, press spokesman for the president of the Polish People's Republic; date and place not given: "Special Circumstances"]

[Text] Poland is not and cannot remain indifferent toward the events taking place in the two German states, especially toward the recently expressed intentions behind their unification, says the press spokesman of the president of the Polish People's Republic. We have the historic, moral, and political right to express a stance on matters that are of such importance for the future of Poland and Europe.

We have painfully suffered from over a century of slavery, including by Prussia and Germany. Poland was the first victim of Hitlerite aggression. World War II, started by the Third Reich, lasted longest of all in Poland, and caused us immeasurable losses and damage. It is obvious that any attempt to alter the German question is looked at very closely in Poland.

We respect nations' rights to self-determination and to live under conditions which they consider suitable for the fulfillment of their aspirations. We have always applied this principle both to the GDR and the FRG, and will do so in future.

However, as far as Germany is concerned, there are special circumstances.

First, two historically shaped German states, the GDR and FRG, exist as a result of World War II and the decisions of the victorious coalition. Their separate existence has been legally recognized by international society.

Second, past calls for German unification have been twice accompanied by pan-Germanic expansionist trends, which altered the European balance of forces with the passage of time and then inspired trends that were destabilizing and tragic for our continent.

Third, joint responsibility for the German problem rests on the four great powers who received the Third Reich's unconditional surrender and committed themselves to act for the sake of European peace and security.

Fourth, the German problem is also the joint matter of all European states, including those belonging to the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and also to CEMA and the EEC. These states express the desire to shape the continent's future on the basis of a respect for equality, noninterference in domestic affairs, a recognition of the results of World War II, and an inviolability of borders. An ambiguous stance by some influential FRG circles on the subject of these key issues naturally causes mistrust and concern in many countries, particularly in Poland, for understandable reasons.

Fifth, military equilibrium is a condition for stability and security in Europe. Poland is acting energetically for the sake of preserving this equilibrium at the lowest possible level. The line that marks this balance runs along the FRG-GDR border. Violating the principles that establish this balance would be profoundly against one's feeling of security and against the letter and spirit of the CSCE Final Act.

Poland was and is interested in the development of good-neighborly relations with both German states. This has been reflected in the treaty of friendship and cooperation concluded with the GDR in Zgorzelec in 1950, which confirmed the permanence and inviolability of the border along the Odra and Nysa Rivers, and paved the way to friendly cooperation with this German state.

Poland attached similar hopes to the treaty with the FRG which was concluded in Warsaw in 1970. For Poland, this treaty also means a final recognition of the Odra-Nysa border.

Regardless of the further development of events and relations between the two German states, Poland continues to defend territorial integrity and respect equality in relationships between all states. This cornerstone of the Polish raison d'etat cannot change. Poland will never agree with the revisionist thesis about the openness of the problem of the Polish-German border. The border on the Odra and Nysa is permanent and final.

The president, government of the Polish People's Republic, and every responsible social and political force in our country have expressed many times and continue to express the view that any thoughts about the future of Germany must, first of all, include guarantees of the security of Germany's neighbors and that of the whole of Europe.

A similar conviction is expressed in numerous statements by leaders and representatives of other states.

Declaring its support for the new thinking in all its forms, Poland is at the same time firmly in favor of an honest respect for the international treaties that are in force.

Foreign Minister Skubiszewski

LD0712132289 Warsaw PAP in English
2249 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Brussels, Dec 6—The Belgian economic and financial daily L'ECHO DE LA BOURSE carried today an extensive interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, quoting the minister in its headline "Eastern Countries are a Promising Market for Your Business."

Skubiszewski presented guidelines of Polish foreign policy and also voiced his opinion on Poland-EC relations, relations with the Soviet Union, the role of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty as well as on the German problem.

"I do not believe in prompt reunification of both German states," he stated. "Surely, one can imagine closer ties between them but one cannot forget that the GDR as a strategic importance for the Soviet Union. Thus, I think that the reunification process would be spread over a longer period of time and observed with some suspicion by neighbours in any case, since the FRG does not say clearly enough how it is going to treat the issue of borders of the future reunited Germany," the minister said.

Green Party Stance

LD0912143189 Warsaw PAP in English
2144 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 8—The National Executive Council of the Polish Green Party today adopted a stance on the question of a German re-unification in which it voiced anxiety over the lack of univocal stance of the FRG on the Polish western border.

At the same time the Polish Green Party said it would make efforts in favour of building understanding between the Polish and German societies and to create foundations for future cooperation in conditions of mutual respect of rights and interests.

A meeting of the "Greens" from the GDR, FRG and Poland, scheduled for the end of this month in Szklarska Poreba, south western Poland, will be held with those aims in view.

U.S. Mission 2 Dec News Conference Viewed

AU0812175789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 4 Dec 89 p 2

[Report signed 'W.K.': "Rebuilding the Economy Takes Time—News Conference in the Marriot Hotel"]

[Text] If Poland was able to rebuild Warsaw after World War II, then I believe it will be able to rebuild its economy. These were the words of Clayton Yeutter, U.S. secretary of state of agriculture and head of a U.S. special presidential mission which was in Poland from 29 November to 2 December, as he recalled his discussions with President Jaruzelski that Saturday. At the 2 December news conference, which took place in the Marriott Hotel in Warsaw and which was attended by two other members of George Bush's administration—namely, Secretary of Trade Robert Mosbacher, Labor Secretary Elizabeth Dole, and Michael Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in the White House—Clayton Yeutter positively assessed the government's draft economic program for the rebuilding of the economy, but he stressed that the success or failure of the program would be determined not by the program itself but by its implementation. This was the challenge facing Poland today.

The main priorities of the U.S. aid program for Poland—recalled Robert Mosbacher—were agriculture, the banking sector, and the communications sector, the last having particular importance for the business sector. According to the secretary of trade, Polish society shows determination and a willingness to make sacrifices in rebuilding its economy.

Elizabeth Dole also mentioned the social costs of economic restructuring that had to be borne by Poland. She promised U.S. assistance in this sphere, for example, in the training of managers and organizing the accounting.

She felt that during the period of restructuring it would also be useful to draw on the U.S. model of assistance for the unemployed.

Michael Boskin stated that many macroeconomic problems had to be solved, that one had to develop a flexible response in meeting challenges, and, above all, it was necessary to break the back of inflation, strengthen the zloty, and make it a currency that was scarce to come by. If the Poles want to get into the fast-lane of economic success, then they ought to realize that it will require determination and perseverance by the whole population. He announced the possibility of a further contribution of $200 million by the United States for the stabilization fund intended for the fight against inflation. He expressed the hope that the Polish Government would reach an advantageous agreement with the IMF on the stabilization program before Christmas.

Answering questions from journalists, Clayton Yeutter stressed that the best thing that the United States could contribute to the rebuilding process would be expert advice and the supply of know-how. Financial help was important in the interim, but, in the long term, Poland needs to create an effective economic system, and it was in this sphere that expert help was invaluable.

Marcin Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation, gave the Polish view on the results of the mission's visit at a Saturday news conference at the INTERPRESS Center. We are pleased by the results of the visit, he stated. Our U.S. guests have once again confirmed their interest in the success of Polish reforms and the necessary support for the reforms declared by the U.S. Government. The most important points of this assistance are the U.S. confirmation of a contribution to the stabilization fund, the assumption of the burden, and, in a certain sense, a U.S. undertaking to take the responsibility of securing the sum of $1 billion for the stabilization fund by the end of this month. The representatives of the mission also expressed their willingness to help in finding new ways to lessen the burden of Polish indebtedness with the Paris Club.

We in Poland—stressed the minister—stand on the threshold of important and difficult decisions that will change the essential way in which our economy functions and which are aimed at reducing inflation. Thus, this support and the importance that the U.S. side attaches to our changes give the government and Polish society the required confidence, the incentive, and the feeling that all that we are doing is important, not only for us, but for others. This is a very important outcome of the visit.

'Success' of Bush-Gorbachev Meeting Noted

AU1112084589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Dec 89 p 5

[Commentary by Zbigniew Lesnikowski, "special correspondent": "Success Despite the Bad Weather"]

[Text] Shortly after Gorbachev and Bush left Malta, the sky over the island lit up and people came to the bay in droves to admire the fireworks display. This was the last element of a great event, which, despite the bad weather, ended in success. It was undoubtedly a complete success.

One can gauge the success of these meetings in various ways. One can count the number of hours that were spent in talks or the number of documents that were signed. One can also read the communique very carefully and analyze every word and every phrase to determine the degree of success or the lack of it. However, one can also, and this should be done on this occasion, consider the very atmosphere of a meeting a measure of its success. That is to say, one should consider the whole range of words, gesture, looks, and nuances that were registered, that is, everything that defines the political atmosphere of talks, and this is of enormous importance today, a time of galloping change in European and world relations.

We knew that the meeting had been a success as soon as the two leaders appeared for the news conference. The expressions on their faces indicated this. It was also significant that for the first time they met us not individually but together. Evidently, the degree of mutual confidence had reached a level at which it is possible to talk about the formation of a partnership in facing up to present dangers and in creating a peaceful and secure world.

A joint news conference also has a further significance. It reduces the possibility of there being different interpretations. If, for example, Gorbachev replies to a question on the German issue and says that realities count and European processes should not be artificially accelerated and Bush nods on hearing these words, then everything is clear. Holding such a news conference before the television cameras of the world's greatest television networks is nothing short of a triumph in the spirit of "glasnost," in relations between superpowers on this occasion.

The meeting fulfilled its purpose, the participants assured us. I am convinced that our cooperation really will contribute to a brighter and more secure future, said George Bush in Malta. The meeting made us aware that we are leaving behind the cold war era and entering a new age, stressed Mikhail Gorbachev.

Of course, there are many fundamental differences in the views of the two leaders and there continue to be many obstacles that hinder cooperation in Soviet-U.S. relations. The Malta meeting did not solve difficult security problems, and it did not eliminate differences on matters such as reducing naval forces, which is something that Bush is clearly opposed to. It also did not elicit a clear statement announcing the restoration of the Soviet Union's most favored nation status in trade with the United States, although behind the scenes in Malta it is believed that the President has already decided to go over from the stage of expressing approval of perestroyka to one of actively supporting it.

The meeting also made it possible to confirm both powers' commitment to the CSCE process and, at the same time, improved prospects for the creation of a common European home. Thus, it also dispelled the fears of those who suspected that Malta could become a "second Yalta."

Defense Minister Siwicki Visits Katyn 7 Dec

LD0712235389 Warsaw PAP in English
2217 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 7—Polish National Defence Minister General Florian Siwicki wound up an official visit to the Soviet Union on Thursday.

On the last day of the visit Minister Siwicki was received by Prime Minister of Belorussia Mikhail Kovalov and visited the village of Katyn where he paid tribute to more than two million victims of Nazi terror in that Soviet republic.

Soviet Troops Hand Over Facilities in Legnica

LD0812133889 Warsaw PAP in English
1224 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Legnica, Dec 8—The Northern Group of Troops of the Soviet Army stationing in the Legnica Voivodship, south-western Poland, returned a number of facilities and buildings they used to the Polish administration recently.

The talks are under way on handing over the building of summer theatre in a municipal park and one of the Soviet department stores where a secondary school could be housed. The possibility of offering military airport and equipment to a regional transport firm is also negotiated.

All in all, Soviet military administration gave back over seventy facilities of various kinds to Polish authorities over the past two years.

USSR Civil Defense Group Ends Visit

LD0912114589 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1900 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] A civil defense delegation from the Soviet Union ended a visit to Poland. The delegation was led by Deputy Defense Minister General Vladimir Govorov. The forms and system of operation of civil defense and the protection of the population against toxic industrial agents were discussed.

Sejm Discusses Soviet Ties, Nowa Huta Incident

LD0812211189 Warsaw PAP in English
1911 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 8—The Polish Sejm on Friday heard the first reading of a government draft changing the organization and activity of the cooperative movement.

The three-hour discussion revealed that there were two opposite groupings of deputies, one coming out for radical changes in the present shape of the cooperative movement and the other against hasty moves, with some deputies even moving for the draft being scrapped.

Deputy Edward Nowak, one of mediators in the conflict around Lenin's Monument in Nowa Huta, said that a political initiative should be made in relation to the Soviet Union, aimed at building Polish-Soviet relations on a basically different platform.

"Shifting them from the party to the government level is not enough. What we need is the citizens' level, an initiative aimed at replacing the to-date bureaucratic friendship between Poland and the Soviet Union with contacts of other kind, between young people in particular," Nowak said.

As for the monument to Lenin, Nowak said it should either be moved elsewhere or pulled down. The Polish nation did not want this monument and it is perceived as a symbol of our dependence, he said.

Nowak described the incidents in Nowa Huta as a protest against too slow a pace of changes and said that he was at one with the young people as far as that problem was concerned.

"Lenin's Monument in Nowa Huta is just a symbol and a pretext behind important and most important matters and problems. This pretext should be liquidated, but liquidation of causes is the most essential thing," he said.

The Sejm debate ended with deputies' interpellations. The next meeting of the Sejm is due on December 17.

The Senate also meets on Friday to discuss national education problems.

Continued Debate on Nowa Huta Monument

Removal Urged

LD0812190989 Warsaw PAP in English
1641 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Krakow, Dec 8—The Presidium of the District People's Council in Nowa Huta issued a unanimous statement on Friday which urged the council's head to take steps aimed at moving Lenin's Monument elsewhere by December 12, 1989.

The statement follows recurrent street rioting over the location of the monument, now standing in Nowa Huta's Central Square.

Monument Dismantled, Taken Away

LD1012224889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Today, in the late evening hours in Nowa Huta, specialist brigades dismantled the statue of Lenin. This object was recently the cause of troubles and street disturbances disrupting the calm and security of the inhabitants of this district of Krakow. The statue was taken from its pedestal in once piece and transported to the Krakow suburb of Wroblowice, where indispensable restoration work will be carried out. After its completion, the presidia of the Municipal People's Council in Krakow and the District People's Council in Nowa Huta will together decide about a new location for the statue.

Prison Revolts Continue; More Injured, Killed

Bentkowski on Amnesty, Riots

LD0812211289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] For several weeks, prison riots have been taking place in the country. The prisoners attempted to force the legislative authorities to introduce an amnesty. Yesterday's Sejm meeting ended the discussion on the scale of the amnesty. It caused a storm in the prisons. According to our reports, at 1500 [1400 GMT] in Goleniow and Kamiensko, respectively, 1,000 prisoners took part in mutinies. In Nowogard, 850 prisoners took part in a riot. The most tragic situation occurred in Czarne, where 1,500 prisoners joined the mutiny: Four of them died in the course of the riot.

[Reporter] The law and order forces were called in. However, it was not possible to get the mutiny under control. The prisoners who barricaded themselves in demolished their cells, destroyed the equipment and later set the buildings on fire. They themselves found refuge on the roof.

In other penal establishments there is no peace either. In Nowogard, a so-called dead strike was announced initially. The prisoners decided not to leave their cells and refused to take food and drink. In the afternoon we received a report that in Nowogard the prison buildings were on fire. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] In connection with these events, we have invited Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski to the studio. Over to Mr Bentkowski:

[Bentkowski] I would remind those who do not want to understand this, that the amnesty is an act of goodwill by the Sejm, and is in a way an act pardon. Seventeen thousand convicts will benefit because of this act of goodwill of our parliament. Seventeen thousand people will be freed. However, the Sejm came to the conclusion that incorrigible offenders, those who committed crimes at least four times, those who were sentenced at least four times, should not be covered by the amnesty. It is those people who decided to take the law into their own hands and started the mutinies. The most severe riot occurred in Czarne. There have been fatalities. There are, however, penal establishments, as for example in Krakow, where the prisoners have understood that nothing can be achieved through the use of force and by lawlessness. The mutiny has been discontinued there. The prisoners who behave correctly will take advantage of leave passes, breaks in serving their prison terms, and conditional release.

We cannot allow a situation in which prisoners take the law into their own hands. The decision on amnesty is final. The Sejm will not discuss this subject any more. I think that peace and order must be restored in the prisons. I have approached the government to introduce special measures. I believe that order will prevail in our prisons soon.

Spokesman on Continuing Sit-ins

LD0912132589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] (?Andrzej Czubala), the Justice Ministry press spokesman, announced that peace and order were restored at the Goleniow penal establishment in Szczecin Voivodship, where there are 1,000 prisoners, at about 0300 this morning. Due to a threat of force used by the prison officers and the Civic Militia and to persuasion, the prisoners ended their mutiny. They left the roofs and started putting their cells in order. A partly charred body of a prisoner, whose head was placed between bed bars, was found on one of the prison beds. The Prosecutor's Office has begun an investigation.

The situation at the penal establishments in Nowogard and Czarne is still bad. In Nowogard the prisoners are continuing their sit-in in the barracks. The financial losses are enormous. Yesterday the prisoners burned down three barracks. The situation is still tense in the Czarne prison where 1,500 prisoners barricaded themselves within the premises of the penal establishment. Most probaby there has been another, the fifth, fatality among the prisoners.

The penal establishment in Kamiensko, Olsztyn Voivodship, is being occupied by 1,000 prisoners. The mutiny there has been peaceful and there have been no acts of vandalism.

Several dozen people at the remand center attached to the court in Swinoujscie began a hunger strike.

At the penal establishment in Sanok, 63 prisoners are occupying one of the wings. In Nowy Wisnicz, Tarnow Voivodship, 270 prisoners have locked themselves in in three wings. Riot attempts were made during the night in Rawicz, Wronki, and Sieradz. The news on an attempt to get the situation at the penal establishment in Czarne under control has not been confirmed yet.

Calm Restored in Czarne, Goleniow

LD0912191289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpt] As a result of actions by detachments of the Civic Militia prevention groups [formerly riot police] and prison officers, the situation at the prison in Czarne has been brought under control. As we have already reported, the forces of law and order used force at 1100 in order to take over the prison from the rioters. Three bodies have been found: One can therefore say that so far there have been seven fatalities among the prisoners in Czarne. Also, the riot in Goleniow prison has ended.

(?Roman Pojazd) reports from Szczecin:

[(?Pojazd)] The situation in Nowogard prison is becoming increasingly dramatic. The prison is surrounded by large numbers of law and order detachments equipped with special gear. The fire is no longer visible over the town, but the totally burned out buildings are still in the hands of the convicts.

In Goleniow prison, having entered one of the vandalized buildings, the prison officers discovered the burned body of one of the recidivists, who was probably killed by the inmates, as his head was stuck between the metal bars of a bed. The losses in property are estimated at seven billion zlotys. [passage omitted]

2 Prisons Brought Under Control

LD1012232689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Ministry of Justice has reported that fulfilling the Government Presidium's decision, calm had been restored in penal institutions in (Kaminsk) and in Nowogard. In both penal institutions, none of the convicts nor any prison official, nor any civic militiaman, has received injuries. According to the Government Presidium's decision, threats that are still present in certain penal institutions will be successively liquidated. Criminal proceedings will be insituted against provocateurs and active participants of the riot.

Senate Debates Penal Code Amendments 8 Dec

LD0812062689 Warsaw PAP in English 0221 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 7—The Senate at its meeting here today did not voice any reservations to the laws adopted by the Sejm, namely, to the law on establishing the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy, the law on the central fund for development of science and technology for 1989, and the law on the national gift fund.

During a discussion on the law on the national gift fund the Senate referred to the pre-war National Defence Fund (FON) and recalled that 20 percent of its gold part was misappropriated. Next, it was announced that a motion would be put forward to set up a special commission to deal with the issue.

Proposals were made to introduce two fundamental changes to the law on amendments to the penal code. The first one is to eliminate from the penal code the item "confiscation of property." The second one is connected with cancelling a duty to make punishment stricter for recidivists.

Senator Andrzej Rozmarynowicz was against these proposals and said that the existing institution of the confiscation of property can be necessary in the face of possible processes against senior officials when they are found guilty of wilful taking of property. He also criticized a draft to eliminate the notion multiple recidivism due to the changes now under way in the penal law.

45 senators were for eliminating the notion of confiscation of property. There was one against and 14 abstentions. 49 senators were for eliminating the notion of multiple recidivism, and there were 9 abstentions.

The Senate also suggested so that changes be made in the law on the constitutional tribunal.

Next, the Senate discussed the law on amendments to the punishment execution code, and, among other things, militia detention houses.

The Senate also examined a draft law on establishing a 13-member constitutional commission. The meeting said the commission might set up sub-commissions for definite constitutional issues from the entire Senate.

The meeting also discussed the Sejm draft law on changes in the national socio-economic plan for the years 1986-1990. The point is to increase the fund for culture development by 0.5 per cent.

The Senate will resume its debates tomorrow.

Daily Outlines Draft 1990 Budget

AU0712194789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Dec 89 pp 1, 4

[Report by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "Economically"]

[Excerpts] The government's economic program is being translated into concrete language; the time of practice is upon us. A draft state budget for the coming year has been drawn up in the Finance Ministry. Principles were adopted during work on it that are identical to those contained in the adjustment program that is currently being negotiated with the IMF. Important features of the budget include a projected increase in prices of 46, 23, 11 percent over the three months of the first quarter. The average increase during the second quarter will be 4.8 percent; 4.5 percent during the third quarter; and less than 3 percent during the final quarter. In practice, this means that inflation would be significantly curbed within a few months.

In addition, it is envisaged that output will fall by about 5 percent over the whole of 1990 compared with the current year and that real wages will fall by 13 percent alongside a significant improvement in market equilibrium and slight 2-3 percent decline in consumption. In practice, the decline in real wages would primarily mean the removal of money that is not backed by goods.

Inflation has resulted in all basic expenditure and revenue groups being already counted in trillions of zlotys. Expenditure will exceed Z190 trillion next year. However, revenue will be higher for the first time in many years. The modest balancing of the budget, the amount being Z100 billion, is worth noting. It is envisaged that this year's central budget deficit will amount to almost Z5 trillion, that is, more than 14 percent of all expenditure. This is one of the basic causes of inflation in Poland.

There are further new elements in the draft budget. The expenditure structure will undergo a significant improvement from the viewpoint of the economic and budget system. Enterprise subsidies, which currently account for more than 31 percent of budget expenditure, will drop to under 15 percent of expenditure. Some essential moves have already been made over the last few months, and they include the almost complete elimination of subsidies for foodstuffs. There is still one further important step that has to be taken: subsidies on coal have to be frozen, which would represent a serious curb on subsidies.

The curbing of budget subsidies does not mean that they will be completely eliminated. There will be a clear increase in subsidies for housing cooperatives (about Z3 trillion) and for municipal economies and housing, that is, for warm water and heating (about Z7 trillion). Polish State Railways will also receive an important subsidy (Z3 trillion).

The fall in subsides will be accompanied by an increase in expenditure on the budgetary sphere. It will definitely exceed 57 percent next year. There will also be an increase in expenditure on wages, that is, to about 25 percent of the entire budget. This means that the structure of the budget will begin to resemble that of budgets in countries with a market economy

As Wojciech Misiag, the finance vice minister, told us, there are two areas in which budget expenditure will exceed the increase in prices: education and administration. In the case of the administration, this stems from a serious devaluation of the zloty, which will lead to a significant increase in the cost of maintaining the foreign service. However, one can assume that deputies and senators will look at this type of expenditure particularly closely. There will be some reduction in real terms in spending on remaining areas such as the military, the militia, but also the arts and health care.

There are further points that also merit attention. There will be a "purchase of bonds" worth Z600 trillion for the first time. This refers, of course, to the bonds that were sold in the fall of this year. The reserve fund for structural changes constitutes an important point (more than Z3 trillion). The introduction of a convertible zloty and the opening up of the economy while pursuing a strict fiscal and monetary policy will lead many enterprises into difficulties by making positive changes in the production structure necessary. Some firms will qualify for temporary support lasting several months in order to implement plant adjustment programs. [passage omitted]

Minor changes will still be made to the draft budget. It will be examined by the Council of Ministers Economic Committee and the Council of Ministers and will then be submitted to parliament along with any improvements. This should take place on 7 December. There is not doubt that the debate on the budget will be stormy.

Economic Program Presented to Jaruzelski

LD0712203289 Warsaw PAP in English
1906 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 7—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Leszek Balcerowicz, vice-premier and finance minister, who presented the guidelines of the government's economic programme prepared under his lead.

Balcerowicz also told the president about the planned legislative procedure and its applications.

Economic Council Debates Debt, Inflation Policy

LD1012011989 Warsaw PAP in English
2039 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 9—On Dec 2 PAP concisely reported on the inauguration of the debates of the Economic Council at the Polish premier. Here is a more detailed report on the same subject, carried by the "ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE" weekly.

The formation of the Economic Council was announced last September by Premier Mazowiecki, who appointed Prof Witold Trzeciakowski its organizer and chairman as well as member of the Council of Ministers.

Formally, the Council was set up, following a resolution of the government of Nov 20, as an independent advisory and opinion-making body at the Council of Ministers and the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Under the resolution of the Council, forwarding its own initiative or at the motion of the government or its head, is expected to prepare and present stands on key problems of the economic and social policy. The Council is expected to present all assessments, stances, commentaries and suggestions to the premier and may inform public opinion on their content.

The inaugural debates were attended by outstanding Western economists, including former chief of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board Paul Volcker and Dutch Finance Minister Herman Ruding.

In his opening address Premier Mazowiecki said: At the moment we are all fascinated and busy with the process of transition to market economy but, after all, one must seriously and quickly think over which economic steering instruments to leave to the state and how to use them. I know that economists are of various opinions on these issues and that is why the Council is of pluralistic character, since the point is to make it possible for various opinions to reach the government and me personally.

As for issues most urgent to settle, opinions were seemingly varied. Prof Grzegorz Kolodko put stress on making warning prognoses by the Council, Prof Stefan Kurowski regarded issues related to the privatisation process as most important while Prof Jan Mujzel—those related to the process of commercialization of state enterprises. Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski focused on problems connected with an increase in production, Prof Krzysztof Porwit—on the anti-monopoly policy and institutional-organizational changes in a completely different state while Prof Jozef Kaleta—on combatting inflation.

According to Prof Cezary Jozefiak the Council's most urgent task is to analyse determinants of the effectiveness of the stabilisation policy of the government in 1990, since such an approach includes issues important not only to economists but to public opinion as well.

Foreign guests spared no efforts to criticise the government for tolerating the current indexation and ventures planned in this field for next year. Most of them proposed either to freeze pays or to reach a kind of a contract between the government and society, allowing for drastically lowering real pays in return for curbing inflation. Especially the latter proposal seemed to attract most supporters who were of the opinion that advantageous political climate and atmosphere of confidence in the government spoke in its favour.

Prof Jeffrey Sachs proposed to skilfully make use of the fact of the expiration of the indexation law at the end of the year and replace it with the social contract in question, making it possible to once and drastically lower real pays. This might turn out to be a turning point in promptly curbing inflation.

Prof Stefan Kurowski attempted to make the guests aware of the results of the loop of debt in which Poland found itself. "We spit blood and pay," he said, commenting on the fact that Poland's servicing her foreign debt costs the country 1.5-2 percent of the national income. During ten months we repaid to creditors some one billion dollars while not reducing our debt by even one cent. Whereas the aid declared by the U.S. and spread over three years reaches 800 million dollars. Market suffers from this and chances for a success of the great Polish experiment decrease.

In Kurowski's view a real aid for this country would be debt cancellation or moratorium for twenty years. This might be the most important anchor for the stabilisation program. Otherwise there is a danger of a social outbreak whose consequences would be hard to foresee not only for Poland. Prof Kolodko made as well-phrased as dramatic comparison here: "Marshall Plan or martial law."

Walesa Discusses Role of Solidarity, Future

LD1012035489 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr Chairman, what is Solidarity today?

[Walesa] I think Solidarity continues to be a movement of reforms that has built, to be sure, a political arrangement, pluralism. On the other hand, it must strive more quickly for the economic pluralism that will bring results for society. We have no economic results, and these are the most important things. These are the motive for our changes. And so, we are changing things, but we have no results, and results add motivation.

[Reporter] This meeting today, this conference devoted to the Ethos of Solidarity?

[Walesa] And I said, what I would like Solidarity to be doing today. In 1980 there was a different situation, a situation that was completely different politically. This was an intelligent rising by the whole of society, and those ideas that shone for us should be transferred to these times, and these are times that are a little different.

[Reporter] What is the citizens' movement to be?

[Walesa] It is to resolve problems in its milieu and to drive these reforms with which we were and are concerned.

[Reporter] And the last issue, Mr Chairman: Will Poles last through 3 months of reforms by the Mazowiecki government?

[Walesa] Of course they will last, for it cannot be otherwise. Only, will we not lose too much in this period? Will we not have too many disputes? Will we not rough each other up a little too much? That is what I am afraid of. Everything must be done for society to understand that it must still pay for that which is indispensible, but now pay consciously. I think we can afford a further run that is calm, healthy, and with the results to come in 4 months time.

Geremek, Mazowiecki, Walesa Message to Poles

LD1012033589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] The first day of the Conference of the Ethos of Solidarity Citizens' Movement has ended in the parliament buildings on Wiejska Street [in Warsaw]. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity; deputies and senators of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group; as well as representatives of citizens' committees from all regions of Poland took part in the meeting. Consideration was given in the speeches and discussion to what Solidarity is today, and what are and what should be the citizens' committees. The preparation of the nation for economic reconstruction awaiting Poles January 1990, informing society of the government program, and the need for a fast and thorough preparation of elections to local government bodies were recognized as the most important matters. Bronislaw Geremek, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Lech Walesa issued a message to Poles, in which we read: Poland is in need. Through mutual efforts we must raise the country out of crisis. Before us is reform of the state, the creation of a rational economic system, and the granting to Poland of a democratic Constitution. We are traveling a good road, but to travel it a unified effort by us all is needed.

Rakowski Meets PZPR Congress Candidates

LD0812212689 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Lodz, Dec 8—Candidates for delegates to the 11th PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Congress met here today with party members of the Widzew district of Lodz where PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski is running for a delegate.

At the meeting views were exchanged on the new shape and future tasks of the party for all who are not ashamed to say the word "socialism."

Rakowski took the floor in the discussion to say that he would like to see the PUWP after the 11th congress as a socialist party of social justice. This new party should follow the ideological tradition of broad Polish and European socialist thought and preserve all that has been good on this road, he said.

I am of the opinion that working people should become the main base of the new party, Rakowski added.

Ninth Session of Joint Commission Held in Vienna

*AU0812190989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1747 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] Vienna (AGERPRES) 8/12/1989—Vienna was the venue of the proceedings of the ninth session of the Joint Romanian-Austrian Commission of Economic Collaboration and Technical-Scientific Cooperation. Problems were approached related to the stage of mutual economic relations and measures were agreed upon to stimulate the development and diversification of commercial exchanges and of bilateral economic cooperation. The Romanian delegation, led by Ioan Ungur, minister of trade and international economic cooperation, also conducted talks with the representatives of numerous Austrian companies interested in the development of commercial exchanges and of bilateral cooperation with Romanian enterprises.

Trade Agreement Signed With Bulgaria

*AU0812184689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1821 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia AGERPRES 8/12/1989—A Romania-Bulgarian intergovernmental protocol on bilateral goods exchanges and payments for 1990 was signed in Sofia. It makes provision for a further increase and diversification of mutual goods exchanges.

SCINTEIA Reports on PEC Meeting

*AU0612130289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
2 Dec 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "President Nicolae Ceausescu chairs meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in Bucharest on 1 December"]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], chaired the meeting of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee on Friday, 1 December.

With regard to the first point on the agenda, the PEC examined and established MEASURES CONCERNING THE APPLICATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE 14TH RCP CONGRESS.

In connection with these problems, Comrade NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, party secretary general, took the floor.

In connection with the guidelines and recommendations made by the party secretary general in his speech, the following took the floor during the meeting: Comrades Manea Manescu, Constantin Dascalescu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Elena Ceausescu, Emil Bobu, Constantin Olteanu, Ion Dinca, Lina Ciobanu, Barbu Petrescu, Ion Radu, Gheorghe Oprea, Iosif Szasz, and Ludovic Fazekas.

The PEC unanimously endorsed the ideas, guidelines, and recommendations included in the speech by the party secretary general.

On this occasion, too, the PEC members paid fervent homage to the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for his essential contribution to drafting and substantiating the plans and programs for our country's socialist development, to the constant improvement of our people's material and cultural standard of living, and to Romania's ever more vigorous affirmation in the world as a free, independent, and sovereign state.

Expressing thanks for the particularly valuable recommendations made by the party secretary general with a view to better organizing the activity aimed at unflinchingly implementing the decisions of the 14th RCP Congress, the PEC members pledged to do all they can, both within their own area and within the PEC—as a collective body—to fulfill their important tasks with great responsibility and in a revolutionary spirit, in order to commendably implement the historic documents adopted by the great forum of the Romanian Communists and the programs of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

Then THE PERMANENT BUREAU OF THE PEC WAS UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED comprising Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, Comrades Manea Manescu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Emil Bobu, Gheorghe Oprea, and Ion Dinca.

During the meeting, the PEC examined measures that have to be taken to COMPLETELY FULFILL THE PLAN FOR DECEMBER AND FOR THE WHOLE OF 1989.

Proceeding on the basis of the particular tasks envisaged for the last month of the year, the PEC asked the government, the ministries, industrial centrals, and enterprises to work with great determination by rallying all efforts to completely fulfill the plan for December and for the whole year. It was recommended that the greatest attention be paid to making complete use of all production units, manpower, working time, and of all resources available in our national economy, to strengthening technological and plan discipline, order, and the sense of responsibility in all areas in order to achieve the planned outputs. Special emphasis was placed on the need to completely fulfill export provisions by ensuring the production, customs clearance, and delivery of all goods stipulated in contracts.

Attention has to focus on the firm application of the programs for organizing and modernizing the production process, improving product quality, reducing energy, raw, and other material consumption, strict observance of endorsed norms, and for a more pronounced increase in productivity and economic efficiency.

It was emphasized that the fulfillment of the plan for December and the whole year has to be the focus, day by day, on the management of ministries, economic units, and party bodies and organizations in order to effectively solve the problems which determine the fulfillment of all plan provisions.

Assessing that all preconditions are ensured for completely fulfilling the plan, the PEC expressed the conviction that the working people will work with exactingness and responsibility to end this year with the best of results and to successfully proceed to fulfilling the targets for 1990, the last year of the current 5-year plan.

The PEC examined THE PROGRAM FOR MAKING ALL ENTERPRISES AND PRODUCTS PROFITABLE.

The data presented demonstrate that, although the planned profitability has been ensured in general, there are still enterprises whose economic-financial situation is unsatisfactory, because the measures worked out for this purpose have not been completely applied.

Taking account of this situation, the PEC requested that firm action be taken to ensure the profitability of all products, economic activities, and units in December.

The meeting examined THE PROGRAM FOR ELIMINATING SURPLUS STOCKS.

It was stressed that, although surplus stocks have been reduced, they continue to be high. Taking this into consideration, the meeting recommended that action be taken to eliminate surplus stocks by delivering and using raw and other materials, and finished products in stock for consumption purposes, in order to observe endorsed norms and regulations and to prevent the formation of new stocks.

The PEC then examined THE REPORT ON THE UNIFORM NATIONAL PLAN ON ROMANIA'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN 1990.

The PEC greatly appreciated Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive contribution to drafting the draft plan for a profoundly scientific basis and in complete accordance with our country's interests, requirements, and real possibilities, and emphasized that the entire activity of substantiating and establishing Romania's development goals for next year had taken place under the leadership and direct guidance of the party secretary general, goals which were examined in several stages, for the whole economy, and according to branches, ministries, and regions.

The 1990 draft plan was drafted on the basis of levels endorsed by the RCP Central Committee plenum of 28 June, by the plenum of the National Council of Working People of July this year, and on the basis of the program directive of the 14th RCP Congress.

Next year's provisions reflect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's revolutionary concept and guidelines aimed at achieving an intensive-type economic increase, improving the efficiency in all areas, better capitalizing on our country's productive potential, material and energy resources, expanding foreign exchange and international cooperation, and increasing the national revenue and the well-being of all our people.

The PEC decided that the 1990 draft uniform national plan for Romania's socioeconomic development, which has been amended to a certain extent in accordance with this year's achievements, be finalized and then submitted to the Grand National Assembly for discussion and endorsement.

The PEC also examined THE DRAFT CENTRALIZED FINANCIAL PLAN FOR SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE DRAFT STATE BUDGET FOR 1990 and decided that they be finalized and then submitted to the Grand National Assembly for discussion and endorsement.

The PEC then examined and drafted A WORK PROGRAM ON FINALIZING AND DISCUSSING THE DRAFT 5-YEAR PLAN FOR 1991-1995.

Upon the proposal of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, the PEC endorsed A 10-PERCENT INCREASE IN ALL SCHOLARSHIPS GRANTED TO STUDENTS AND PUPILS, INCLUDING THOSE IN VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS. At the same time, the PEC endorsed the proposal made by the party secretary general that ALL STUDENTS, SONS OF WORKERS AND COOPERATIVE FARMERS, WHO ARE ATTENDING DAY COURSES, SHOULD RECEIVE SCHOLARSHIP, REGARDLESS OF THEIR PARENTS' INCOMES.

Adopting these measures, the PEC emphasized that they clearly reflect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's particular care and concern with guaranteeing youth—along with our country's development in general—increasingly better conditions for life and education.

During the meeting the PEC adopted CERTAIN DECISIONS REGARDING OUR PARTY's AND STATE'S INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY.

In the spirit of the 14th RCP Congress decisions, the PEC, emphasizing the need and usefulness of organizing regional conferences and an international conference in order to jointly discuss the problems concerning the socialist countries, the communist movement, and the communist and workers parties, granted the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the mandate to work, together with other revolutionary parties and forces toward convening such an international conference as soon as possible.

The PEC decided to CONVENE THE RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ON 12 DECEMBER 1989.

The PEC also solved current problems of the party and state activity.

Ceausescu Interviewed by ARD on 29 Nov

AU0812151289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Nov 89 p 6

[Report on interview with President Nicolae Ceausescu by Dagobert Lindlau, Vienna-based bureau chief of ARD Radio and Television Associations of the FRG, in Bucharest on 29 November]

[Text] As reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 23 November 1989 received Dagobert Lindlau, chief of the Vienna-based Bureau of the ARD Radio and Television Associations of the FRG to whom he granted the following interview:

ARD: Mr President, in your report to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], you emphasized that great changes are taking place in the world. We would like to know your opinion on the changes taking place in the world arena, specifically in some socialist countries.

Ceausescu: Indeed, we are living in an era of profound changes in the balance of forces—that is social, national, and political changes—which have a strong impact on the international situation on the whole.

First of all, I would like to stress the fact that many serious problems in the world are still not solved. One of the more serious threats to the very existence of humanity is the arms race, nuclear arms, which, unfortunately, continue to increase instead of being reduced. And there is even talk of modernizing them!

Therefore, the first problem on which all peoples, and especially European peoples, should focus is the need to achieve disarmament, eliminate nuclear weapons, and primarily the need for Europe to renounce any kind of nuclear weapons in the shortest time possible.

Another complex problem is that of underdevelopment, of the pronounced gap between the rich and poor countries, and the fact that every year scores of billion of dollars flow from poor countries, which are known to make up more than two-thirds of mankind, to rich countries, thus aggravating the international situation even more.

Now to the situation in Europe. Although many years have passed since the Helsinki meeting, few of the targets established at that conference have been achieved. Europe continues to be divided into military blocs. Many problems are being discussed. However, unfortunately, their solution is much delayed. I am referring to the fact that the customs barrier policy and all kinds of restrictions in economic and scientific-technical relations—so to say—have intensified!

It seems that the various interpretations of certain European issues, connected with how certain situations dating from the past should be handled, and current problems are of such a nature that they actually prevent the adoption of rational measures in the spirit of the Helsinki documents—that is of broad cooperation based on the principles of equality and noninterference in domestic affairs among all European countries.

Within this framework, I would like to speak about today's problems in Europe, including those in some socialist countries.

As far as Romania is concerned, as early as 1965 it advocated and worked toward the construction of socialism in accordance with the specific conditions in our country by rejecting "models" and patterns. We proceeded on the basis of the need to build socialism on scientific bases and to guarantee our people genuine equality and a high standard of material and cultural civilization.

At this time, certain changes are under way in some socialist countries, which are said to aim at perfecting socialism. Starting on the basis of our principled position, we can only welcome such a thing! Because socialism—like any other social system—has to be constantly organized on the basis of the most modern achievements of science, everything that is outdated and no longer corresponds to the new realities has to be eliminated once and for all.

What is difficult for us to understand is the fact that some people think that such an improvement has to be achieved by returning to old forms, which were eliminated by socialism many, many years ago because, when they were used, they failed to help the given countries develop.

I talked about this at the congress as well.

We believe that the peoples and the political forces in the given countries will succeed in finding the best way to perfect socialist development in keeping with the interests of the given peoples and in conformity with the principles of scientific socialism.

I want to emphasize that we cannot conceive of socialism without solving basic social problems—without ensuring equality between people, and without eliminating the division of people into rich and poor!

ARD: Mr President, which are the most important guidelines on the basis of which the 14th RCP Congress will direct Romania's development in the coming years?

Ceausescu: During the congress we took stock, on the whole, of Romania's development on the road of socialism in the past 45 years and, specifically, in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress of 1965.

We have covered a long distance! Romania was a poorly developed country. In this period we improved our homeland's level, in general, up to the stage of an industrial-agrarian country with a modern industry, a prospering socialist agriculture, and a high material and cultural standard of living for our people. Anyone who visits our country is able to note what has been achieved in this short period—or, as some people say, in a period which in history represents just a few instances—that has raised Romania to this level.

However, we are aware that we have covered only one stage—an important one, of course—but still just one stage! To fulfill the targets of the comprehensively developed socialism—as we say—we still have a great distance to cover. For this purpose, the 14th RCP Congress proposes to put forward the targets for Romania's advance to the next stage, so that in the not too distant future—by the year 2010—Romania will become a comprehensively developed socialist country that will fully meet the requirements of all people and present itself to the world as a developed country from all viewpoints.

The aim of our next 5-year plan is to perfect Romanian industry and to complete its modernization on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology.

We also want to raise the level of agriculture, which this year has actually scored record yields, thus placing Romania among the first countries in the world in this respect. We want to achieve an agriculture that ensures everything necessary for our country's development. We also propose to improve the standard of living of villages, of the peasantry in general.

We also propose to completely solve the housing problem for all citizens in cities by 1995. As a matter of fact, today, as you have heard in the congress, 80 percent of our country's population in cities and 90 percent in Bucharest have new housing.

We want to perfect education and culture. We have introduced the compulsory 12-grade educational system, and I would like to mention that our whole education, including university education, is completely free. Through these measures, we want to guarantee our youth the possibility to acquire the highest knowledge in science, technology, and regarding the development laws of the human society, and we want to make sure that all Romanian people will vigorously improve their scientific standard. As we say—and we like to say this—we propose to have young people and, in general, people with a high level of culture. This will ensure our progress!

As you see, we place great emphasis on science, education, and culture. We have done so in the past and will do the same in the future based on the fact that only in this way will we be able to achieve our development targets and improve the standard of living of the Romanian people, so that they may join the ranks of the free and dignified nations with a high living standard.

We are convinced that we will succeed in doing this!

These are, briefly put, the economic and social targets we bear in mind.

At the same time, I want to emphasize that we propose to broadly develop international economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation with all states, irrespective of social system, and to participate actively in solving the complex problems in the world.

We want to contribute to the achievement of a world in which there will no longer be inequalities, the policy of force and dictate, and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. We are struggling for a world without weapons and wars, because this is in the interest of all peoples!

At the same time, in the spirit of the Helsinki documents, we favor real new relations in Europe that will ensure broad cooperation—ruling out interference in domestic affairs—and that will create conditions for the progress of each nation, and of each people. We want to live in a united Europe, a united Europe of free, equal, and independent nations!

We believe that only such a Europe will create appropriate conditions for the progress of all peoples and guarantee our continent an important role in the international arena!

Anti-Soviet Rallies, Domestic Unrest Reported

40,000 in Moscow Demonstration

AU1012190789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] On Human Rights Day, a big meeting was held in Moscow. At about noon today, in temperatures of -21 C, about 40,000 people proceeded along the second avenue, the Prospect of Peace [as heard], walking for 1 entire hour in order to reach the place of the meeting. They carried banners calling for more human rights. There were also banners stating that a breakthrough has been made in East Europe and wondering when this was going to happen in Moscow.

The meeting was addressed by Nobel prize winner Andrey Sakharov, among others. He demanded that the provision of the party's leading role be deleted from the Constitution.

Movement To Oust Gorbachev Cited

LD0912235789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1756 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—A Soviet party plenum opened here this morning with an introductory report by Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on the situation in the Soviet economy and measures for its recovery.

The plenum is being held at a time when the country is facing aggravated problems at home—a serious economic situation, shortages of goods, worsened inter-ethnic relations and polarization of forces on the issue of economic reform.

While there are demands for accelerating a radical economic reform, the official policy favours a stage-by-stage approach. The issue will also be discussed by the current plenum.

The plenum will also set up a Central Committee Bureau for the Russian Federation which, although the largest union republic, does not have a party Politburo.

Observers in Moscow wonder whether the plenum will also discuss a reshuffle of the country's top party leadership, as demanded at the plenum of the Moscow party committee yesterday.

One of the participants in yesterday's session said that almost 20 secretaries of district party committees had prepared a proposal of changes in the Poltiburo. This was opposed by another Moscow party committee member, who proposed that the plenum adopt a resolution of support to Gorbachev.

Demands for the replacement of some Poltiburo members—namely Gorbachev, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze—were first voiced at a rally in Leningrad a few days ago. Participants in a counter-rally held there on Friday demanded, however,.the ousting of Leningrad party chief Gidaspov, who is considered one of the proponents of the conservative line. They also supported Gorbachev and his closest aides.

Gorbachev 'Dismissal' Demands Noted

AU0912193489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow has announced that a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union began this morning, but nothing has been reported on its course.

Observers in the Soviet capital wonder whether the plenum discussed the replacement of the Soviet Party leaders, which one of the participants at the Moscow City Committee plenum demanded yesterday.

A similar demand, for the dismissal of Gorbachev, Yakovlev, and Shevardnadze, was voiced at a meeting in Leningrad a few days ago, but the day before yesterday, a counter-meeting was held, demanding the dismissal of the Leningrad party leaderships and expressing support for Gorbachev and his associates.

Orlandic Employed by Slovene Firm in Moscow

AU3011164389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-30 Nov 89 p 17

[B. S. report: "Orlandic—Representative in Moscow"]

[Text] As we have learned, Marko Orlandic, former member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Montenegro's long-serving top representative in the federation, was given a job as an adviser in the Moscow branch of the Slovene firm Kovinotehna. It is interesting to note that until less than 8 years ago, Orlandic was Yugoslavia's ambassador to the USSR. The Yugoslav citizens in the capital city of the USSR are now wondering whether it is appropriate for a former ambassador to be working for a "fistful of dollars" in the country in which he used to represent his own country. As we were informed by the Kovinotehna Moscow branch, Orlandic is presently in Yugoslavia but is expected to commence his regular employment on 28 December of this year.

Adamec Seen As 'Doomed To Fail' From Beginning

AU0812205789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] With the resignation of Premier Ladislav Adamec, Czechoslovakia has entered a new cycle of crisis with an uncertain outcome. Here is Branislav Canak on the subject:

[Begin Canak recording] Adamec's resignation is the best illustration of the current political situation in Czechoslovakia, where there is an increasing tendency of the public to distance itself from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. Even though in a certain way, Adamec was the man of reconciliation, because he enjoyed the open support of the new party leadership and a silent support of the majority of opposition, he was in fact doomed to fail from the very beginning. Namely, to form a government under such circumstances means to perform at the same time many other political tasks that governments normally do not deal in and, if they agree to do so, they have to fall sooner or later. What is involved is that Adamec was expected, for instance, to form a government which would satisfy all sides in the game and thereby bridge the increasing gap between these sides. Judging from all facts, the support of all antagonistic political sides did not suffice for Adamec to be able to make a decisive cut and to stop the tradition of communist monopoly. To do so, one also needs the broadest social consensus about some other issues, which have merely been broached during this hurried Prague autumn.

Some demands Adamec was facing during consultations about the new government by no means belong to the prerogatives of a government—no matter whether it will include Communists and, if so, to what extent—and were certainly employed as a form of pressure aimed at gaining more ministries for the opposition.

Thus, for instance, the opposition's demand for new laws which would guarantee the democratic rights to rally and associate, the freedom of press, and, of course, free elections, cannot be addressed to a premier designate. It is also unclear in what position Adamec accepted the opposition's demand to abolish the article of the Constitution concerning the leading role of the Communist Party and was that the idea that led him when he gave Communists most ministries in the new government.

The impression remains that Ladislav Adamec was given the ungrateful role to use the negotiations with the opposition and the procedure of forming a new government to enable the CPCZ to mark time and resist the increasing attacks by the opposition at least until the next congress, which has been called for 26 January.

It is obvious that Adamec's fall and the increasingly violent demands that Gustav Husak should step down as president of Republic made the party leadership decide to move the date of the congress to 20 December. The opposition has in fact thereby won a battle it did not wage at all, at least did not do so openly. It is hard to believe that—held in such a hurried manner and under political circumstances that no Communist Party is used to—this forced top meeting of Czechoslovak Communists will manage to consolidate party ranks and to offer replies more suitable to the times that are already there, without voluntarism and improvisation. This means opening political space for opposition forces, but also creating realistic conditions for starting a democratic dialogue between the representatives of all political (?sides). Only then can one expect the first more stable government maybe with, why not, Ladislav Adamec at its head. [end recording]

French Prime Minister Rocard Pays Working Visit

Begins Talks With Markovic

LD0612201289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and French Prime Minister Michel Rocard, who today started a 2-day official visit to Yugoslavia, have begun talks devoted above all to the relations between the two countries and events in Eastern Europe.

In their talks, which continue tomorrow, the two premiers will also consider possibilities for strengthening relations between the SFRY and integrated Europe, and also East-West relations and possibilities for setting up a North-South dialogue. Before the start of the talks, Michel Rocard laid a wreath at the tomb of President Tito in the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center and signed the visitors' book.

Attends Dinner

LD0612230989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—At the Palace of the Federation this evening, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic held a formal dinner for French Premier Michel Rocard at which toasts were exchanged.

Hailing Michel Rocard in his toast as a prominent statesman of France and an esteemed personality on the French and European political scene, Ante Markovic stressed that France and its great nation have always enjoyed the greatest warmth and respect in Yugoslavia.

Speaking of bilateral relations, Premier Markovic stressed that a special quality is lent them by human contacts and ties, the role of which is irreplaceable and the nurturing of which is constantly the object of our great attention. "I would like to recall as well that Yugoslavia consistently conducts a policy of open borders in the belief that the free movement of people is an essential condition for the promotion of all forms of cooperation. This is all the more reason for us to expect that the circulation and communication of the citizens of our two countries, in the spirit of the aspirations we jointly manifested in Helsinki and on many other occasions, should not be hampered in any way," said Ante Markovic.

Expressing the view that relations and cooperation could be even richer and more substantial, particularly in the economic sphere, Ante Markovic recalled the positive experiences of the French firms Renault and Citroen, which "have been in Yugoslavia for 20 years now and have not lost their money." He also noted the great possibilities for investment in Yugoslav tourism and the broad opportunities for a considerable intensification of cooperation in the sphere of scientific research, as well as the fact that cultural exchanges must be strengthened with the epochal innovations in the sphere of electronic communications and information.

Turning to international affairs, Ante Markovic stressed that our common attention is turned, perhaps more today than ever before, toward Europe, where changes are taking place which have essential significance for the future of the continent and for the building of our common European homeland.

According to Markovic, processes are underway which place us before a historic choice: Do we wish to continue together along the path of closer integration of our economies, the close communication of our citizens, and the permeation of our civilizational, cultural, and general human achievements and values? Or will we oppose the progressive march of history and stand egoistically by a superseded concept, rivalry, and exclusiveness? "In the strivings toward the triumph of the first alternative, I see room for the joint activity of France, the history and place in the world of which give it the opportunity to be a protagonist in the new democratic strivings, and Yugoslavia, the nonaligned policy of which directs it to advocate a more just world and relations within it," stressed Ante Markovic.

We consider that the detente between East and West cannot yield all the desired results if it is not directly extended to world economic relations and does not become the rule of behavior in this sphere on a global level. This is why the Nonaligned Movement, Markovic recalled, insists on the need to reach conditions that will make it possible for the debtor countries to grow and develop economically, which is in the interests of both those countries and the creditor countries. Here, there is significant room for constructive cooperation betwen the nonaligned Movement and the European Community. "We consider the understanding and initiatives of France on these issues to be valuable for the achievement of the necessary progress in resolving the economic problems of the world, without which there can be no lasting peace, nor progress for all," Markovic emphasized.

Noting that Yugosalvia is entering a decisive phase of profound changes, Markovic stressed that reform should make our economy more stable and capable of partnership with other economies.

This is why, Markovic said, support for our reforms is support for those processes that link and connect Europe, thereby making it more secure and guaranteeing its real prosperity. "We expect that our French friends will recognize this more rapidly and profoundly than all the others on whose understanding we also are counting. We also would like your personal understanding and judgement because you have followed our development for many years and have shared our hopes, even when reforms in socialism were not the unstoppable tide they now are, Ante Markovic stressed.

Returning in conclusion to bilateral relations, Premier Markovic expressed the belief that Rocard's visit would be an important impetus for their further development and promotion. "I am particularly convinced that France can and should occupy an even more important place in Yugoslavia's economic relations and ties with the world, for which the present reform of our economic system opens up new possibilities. I am sure that our joint efforts in that direction will not be lacking," said Ante Markovic in his toast at the formal dinner in honor of French Premier Michel Rocard. [passage omitted]

Exchanges Toasts

*LD0612230889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2242 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—East-West detente cannot yield true results unless it should extend also to global economic relations, and this can be greatly assisted by constructive cooperation between the nonaligned and the European Community countries, Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic said in a Toast proposed to visiting French Prime Minister Michel rocard at a formal dinner in Belgrade this evening.

The French prime minister, who arrived today on a two-day visit to Belgrade, responded by offering support for Yugoslavia's policy in Europe and stressed that the idea that Yugoslavia should join the Council of Europe deserved to be given great attention.

It would be deplorable if Yugoslavia, after it has found the path to independent socialism, should be left on the fringes of the great movement for freedom which is animating Europe today, the French prime minister emphasized. He assessed the Non-Aligned Summit held in Belgrade in September as very successful as it had been turned more to dialogue than to confrontation, and stressed that Yugoslavia, as a founder of the Movement of Non-Alignment and the country currently chairing it, had played a major part in this.

North-South dialogue must be resumed if global economic relations are to be promoted, it was noted during the opening talks between Premiers Markovic and Rocard this afternoon.

Rocard stressed in this context that France would endeavour to assist the debtor countries in discharging their obligations without endangering their development.

Markovic pointed out that the economic reform in Yugoslavia should stabilize the economy and enable the country to be competitive on the world market. For this reason, support for the Yugoslav reforms is also support for the processes which bind Europe and enhance its security, he said.

Markovic said he was convinced that France could and should occupy a still more important place in Yugoslavia's economic ties with the world, as changes were taking place in Europe which were of great importance for the edification of a common European home.

The French premier concurred in this, and said he hoped that the two countries' joint commission would, at its session in Paris in the spring, reach a number of concrete agreements on economic cooperation.

Discusses Economic Cooperation

LD0612232289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—In the first Yugoslav-French official talks this afternoon two topics were dominant—the internal events in the two countries in the context of the major events in Eastern Europe and the prospects for economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and France. On the first subject, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic and French Premier Michel Rocard, who today began a 2-day official visit to Yugoslavia, held talks without the presence of their associates, while the other was discussed at a parallel meeting of the members of the delegations of the two countries.

In the Markovic-Rocard talks, the French guest was informed about the meaning and content of the political and economic changes in Yugoslavia, and Premier Rocard informed Markovic about the situation in France from the point of view of creating a future united European market in 1992. There was also discussion of the meaning of socialism today, bearing in mind the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, the final outcome of which cannot be envisaged.

The members of the delegations of the two countries exhaustively examined the possibilities of strengthening economic cooperation—commodity exchange, joint investment and, linked with this, specific projects. The possibility was mentioned of building seven thermoelectric power stations in Yugoslavia with the delivery of French equipment, and the possible construction of an underground system in Belgrade, which certain French firms are interested in financing. The Pechiney company has shown interest in investing in Yugoslavia's aluminium processing facilities, and there was also mention of the idea of introducing the French high speed TGV train on Yugoslavia's railways. The possibility was also mentioned of founding Yugoslav-French mixed banks which is made possible by the latest legal changes in Yugoslavia. The possibility was also stressed of investing French capital in Yugoslav tourism, and as a specific project the so-called "Mediterranean cultural product" in which Yugoslavia, Italy and Spain are taking part was cited.

As a particularly successful example of economic cooperation between the two countries, mention was made of the agreement between the French Renault car company and IMV of Novo Mesto on capital investment, and the investment of the Saint Gobain company in the Pancevo glass industry amounting to as much as DM200 million.

A harder task is the revival of trade which has stagnated in the past decade at a level of about $1 billion a year. In the first 10 months of the year, a growth in value was recorded, but more as a result of an increase in Yugoslav imports from France, as a result of which the Yugoslav deficit climbed to about $100 million.

Premiers Markovic and Rocard are continuing their talks tomorrow and there will be further discussion of East-West relations, the integration of Yugoslavia and Europe and the problem of visas, which Paris introduced 3 years ago for Yugoslav citizens traveling to France.

Meets With Drnovsek

LD0812104189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and French Prime Minister Michel Rocard held talks today in the White Palace in Belgrade. They discussed the further advancement of Yugoslav-French relations.

The French guest stressed the usefulness of the more frequent dialogue which the two countries have conducted for the last few years.

They reemphasized that there is a possibility and need for further development of bilateral and economic cooperation.

Rocard told Drnovsek about his talks with his host, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, stressed the comprehensiveness and usefulness of the expressed positions as well as concrete projections on expanding cooperation between the two countries.

President Drnovsek briefed the guest about the main domestic concerns of Yugoslavia and the work on the implementation of economic reform and on a new Constitution.

On international issues, the French prime minister especially stressed Yugoslavia's pioneering role among socialist countries regarding reforms, which, as he put it, "France does not forget."

President Drnovsek pointed out that Yugoslavia's problems stem from a long duration of a deep economic crisis. He briefed the French prime minister about Yugoslavia's orientation on cooperation and closer links with European integrations, which was especially welcomed by the French guest.

President Drnovsek asked the French guest to pass on to French President Mitterrand an invitation to visit Yugoslavia.

Departs After 2-Day Visit

LD0812105789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—French Prime Minister Michel Rocard ended his official 2-day visit to Yugoslavia today. He left Belgrade this afternoon. Prime Minister Rocard was seen off at Surcin Airport by his host, FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic. Immediately before his departure Prime Minister Rocard was also received by SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek.

Holds News Conference

LD0812113289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—France supports Yugoslavia in its struggle against inflation and (?upholds its) program of reforms which is already being implemented, it was said at a joint press conference of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and his French counterpart Michel Rocard.

Rocard, who on Thursday ended his two-day visit to Yugoslavia, said that this country should take part in the new European trends. He added that France supports Yugoslavia's wish to join the European Council and establish new links with the European Community (EC).

According to Rocard, on its internal plane Yugoslavia is facing contradictions: [word indistinct] liberalization implies the introduction of various forms of ownership in the economy and political democratization on the one hand, and on the other, it faces the state organization which gives rise to opposition, both on the federal, republican, and local levels. [as received]

Rocard denied rumors that the French public and business circles neglected Yugoslavia in favour of East Europe. He stated that France does not base its relationship with Yugoslavia on the principle that support depends on the number of changes and that aid given to a country is linked to how much confidence it inspires in business circles.

The Yugoslav prime minister said that Yugoslavia views as (?very) important French moral and material aid, and that agreement had been reached during the talks on the steps and forms of support.

Markovic underscored that [word indistinct] had supported certain measures introduced by the Yugoslav Government aimed at reducing inflation (?this) year to the European level and creating conditions for integration into the European market.

Markovic recalled that the Yugoslav Government has already liberalized many economic sectors. He note, [word indistinct] country's foreign exchange reserves at [word indistinct] amount close to six billion dollars, although 90 percent of the prices and exports had been liberalized and in spite of the fact that Yugoslavia this year did not get new loans (?and has to replay loans valuing) 3.8 billion dollars.

Serb Body on Policy Toward Neighboring Countries

AU0712194689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The situation concerning and the future of relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and neighboring countries and the position of our national minorities in these countries were discussed at the session of the Republican Social Council for Relations With Foreign Countries, chaired by Milovan Markovic. It was pointed out both in the introductory report by Dusan Lazic, official at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, and in the debate at the session that a constant promotion of relations with its neighbors is one of the priorities of Yugoslav foreign policy and the state of relations with its neighbors is an important factor in the country's security.

Economic cooperation and some other forms of cooperation, with some minor exceptions, mostly have developed favorably. However, as concerns the position of groups of our peoples living in some neighboring countries, there is reason for concern. This primarily applies to the treatment of Macedonians in Greece and Bulgaria, the position of Serb and Croat nationalities in Romania, and the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Albania.

It was also said in the debate at the session of the Republican Social Council for Relations With Foreign Countries that the result of our internal divisions and disputes is that, apart from Albania, some other neighbors also provoke their members living in our country to carry out activities that could not be termed good-neighborly. In that respect, the question was initiated of the need for the constant adjustment of our policy toward our neighbors, depending on their behavior. It was also pointed out that we need to adjust our foreign policy, including our policy toward our neighbors, more quickly in conformity with the important changes in the Balkans and in Europe during recent months.

Free Elections, Constitutional Changes Demanded

Up to '10,000' Croats Sign Petition

LD1012144589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—Since early this morning, the people of Zagreb have had an opportunity to sign a petition to be sent to the Croatian Socialist Republic Assembly and the Presidency. The signing of the petition has been organized by 12 unregistered political organizations, societies, and groups. According to the organizers, by late morning, 7,000 - 10,000 people signed the petition.

The same petition has been circulated in another 20 towns in the Republic. In Dubrovnik, by noon, about 2,000 people signed the petition.

The organizers of the petition proceed from the view that the existing political system has "exhausted its legitimate reserves and has shown that it cannot guarantee even basic rights and security of either individuals or social and political groups". In the petition they, therefore, call for urgent measures to legalize political parties and to enable them to take part in pre-electoral activities, as well as and for the release of all political prisoners and for an end to political persecution. They also call on the current Croat leadership to consistently safeguard the republic's sovereignty and to act in the way that will guarantee a civilized stabilization of the current situation in the country. They want free elections for the Croat Assembly to be organized within a month. The new assembly would work on a new Constitution for the Republic and would also take part in the work on a new SFRY Constitution.

The petition ends by saying that unless the above demands are acknowledged and implemented within the given deadline, the organizers will "resort to the constitutionally envisaged nonviolent political actions in order to press home our points".

Opposition Plans Public Meeting

AU1012193089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Vesna Knezevic report from the "Sunday at 10" program"]

[Text] Zagreb today belongs to those who are ready to fight for it, or Zagreb will be won by those who think that this city is worth spending hours in the former Jelacic Place, where, at this time of year, the fog lifts at about 1000 and falls again at 1500. The city in which socialism has been flourishing, due more to the reputation of Austro-Marxism than to conscious efforts by the Croatian Communists, will hardly be held by those who continue to believe that they have the right to free weekends.

The refusal of Ivo Latin, president of the Socialist Republic Croatia, and Andjelko Runjic, president of the Croatian Assembly, to receive a delegation of the united Croatian opposition today, could be very costly for both of them for several reasons. First, if the coalition partners decide to be persistent for a long time, both Runjic and Latin, as symbols of the quite determined assembly and the anonymous presidency, could fall. Second, the leadership of the League of Communists of Croatia has enough problems on its own and does not have time to openly stand behind these two people of questionable qualities for office. Third, both Runjic and Latin know this but do not want to admit to themselves that at the crucial time, if it comes—which I think it will, today or perhaps in 1 month's time—they will find themselves completely on their own against the Croatian pluralist sharks, which have been hungry for some time. They disagree among themselves but are united for pragmatic reasons. They are not turning their backs on one another and have found the minimum of necessary trust. They are afraid of populism from the East, but even more, they fear their own Communists. They dream about Europe, but all, even the most radical ones such as Tudjman's democrats or Sosic's Christian democrats, would be more than satisfied with a future parliamentary and democratic Yugoslavia in which there would a diversity of ideologies, but where ideologies would be equal before the Constitution.

The 12 parties as well as perhaps Opacic's Zora organization as a political (?party) of Serbs in Croatia and an informal group of Belgrade intellectuals such as Cosic, Djilas, and Koca Popovic will not be disrupted today. The police will not touch them if they do not touch the police.

The united political opposition of Croatia knows that it does not have much time. The loose alliance could break any time. The first to go out or to be kicked out could be the members of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative if the others insist that the Republic's sovereignty be subject to the dimensions of space and time. On the other hand, the Communists are weak. It would be enough for the doorman to forget to unlock the gate of trade fair hall on Wednesday night, where the League of Communists of Croatia is expected to hold its 3-day congress, for Zagreb and Croatia, exhausted by inflation, expensive heating gas and meat, and a cold winter, not even to notice that those who have promised this kind of paradise to the workers class have gotten lost.

If the people take the political stage in Croatia, they will only be the politically active people, people without banners, songs, and pictures, people with the petitions with chilling contents that hit the system where it is weakest, hoping that this system will not hit them back where they are weakest, in the plexus.

At present Croatia could not exist without the Communists, but it is also impossible to exist with only the Communists as the keepers of the social, state, and legal monopoly.

It appears that the Croatian Communists understood this, even before the president of the assembly and the president of the presidency. It also appears that the chief of the police has been informed about this in time, which is the most important thing for the opposition.

The Croatian Communists would probably do themselves the best favor if they were to join the coalition as the 13th party and were to start collecting signatures for petitions calling for group receptions held by the state organs, free elections, and the participation of other parties in preelection activities.

The most important thing for Yugoslavia is that the individual dissatisfaction of some coalition partners has been diverted from the events in Serbia to the institutions on Stjepan Radic Square in Gornji Grad and the blind alley Visoka Street.

The united Croatian coalition thinks that the keys to Yugoslavia's consciousness are held by the Yugoslav Communists, regardless of whether they are at the Usce in Belgrade or the Karl Marx Promenade in Zagreb.

As far as the opposition in Croatia is concerned, if the Communists do not intend to make duplicate keys, they can deposit them with the doorman of the trade fair hall. Some people simply have more sense for negotiations.

Slovene-Serbian Unrest Continues; Views Reported

Serb Proclamation Would Bring 'Chaos'

AU0812125189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Dec 89 p 12

[Dragoljub Zarkovic commentary: "Proclamation and Economy"]

[Text] In the world of serious politics—and of serious business in particular—there is no such emction to justify anybody's unmeasured reaction, not even when it is the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia which "calls on all institutions and work organizations in Serbia to break all ties with Slovenia" in its proclamation issued on Wednesday.

Many people tend to define the modern world as an environment in which money, commodities, and labor know no borders, that is, they are capable of jumping over them even when there are serious political barriers. After all, Yugoslavia has regular trade with Israel and South Korea, for example, although it has no diplomatic relations with these countries.

It is obvious that the level of diplomatic relations between Serbia and Slovenia has fallen very low. Nevertheless, this fact still does not allow those who create politics to try to break up not only currents of money and commodities, but also legal norms, without which there is no civilization.

After all, trade—apart from goodwill on the part of the two partners—also involves contracts which oblige these partners to comply with a certain kind of behavior. If, carried away by the wave caused by the proclamation, they break all contracts with partners in Slovenia, all work organizations and institutions in Serbia will trample not only upon laws, but also upon their own interests.... Damage and chaos will be enormous.

Let us say, for example, that the working people of Yugoslav Airlines decide that their planes should not fly to Ljubljana any longer, that is, they decide to abolish one of the few more or less profitable domestic lines. Or, the Mosa Pijade Cable Factory from Svetozarevo does not want to deliver cables to the Velenje Gorenje works and the Kragujevac Zastava Car Factory decides that its car, the Yugo, should be made without any trace of "separatist" products.... Or, hapless people from Aleksinac send home the dedicated rescue team from Slovenia.

All that, as well as thousands of other examples one could present here, will come to nothing. When passions calm down a little, it will become clear that the "cordon sanitaire" has broken apart even before it has closed.

Serious business people have received this political message with profound disbelief and a sort of a sardonic smile, certain that that does not apply to them. However, passions are passions. Thus, in the television news on the evening before last we saw a meeting of the Smederevo iron producers who said that they will not have any business ties with Slovenia. The greatest loser in Serbia does not want to sell its products to the Slovenes. Do they expect their republic to increase their subsidies in return?

What is to be done with those people who make profit in doing business with Slovenia? What right does a leadership of a sociopolitical organization have to impose at least a moral burden on these working people who are carrying out business operations in the unified Yugoslav market, by making them examine their conscience for the reason of obedience and a narrow concept of patriotism?

Moreover, the proclamation clashes with the still valid constitutional provision according to which every republic is responsible for its own development, as well as the development of the country as a whole. If—to take a purely hypothetical proposition—everybody took the proclamation seriously, serious damage would result in the economies of Serbia and Slovenia, and a little less in the whole of Yugoslavia.

The proclamation has come in handy to help the political message make a strong impact.

There will certainly be some boycotting of Slovene goods in shops—just as there was after the Cankar Hall meeting—but this will only be a short-lived reaction of the hurt political belief and will thaw like early snow in the mind of the boycott-ready consumer. Or, is it that this time we are dealing with a serious dispute?

Observed in the long run—longer than this event of the conflict between two leaderships—all this nevertheless points to the disastrous fact that has in fact brought us here where we are and because of which we fear that we may go even further. All this points to voluntarism in the world of politics, a world that feels itself to be an inviolable power which can—no matter whether in a republic, province, or even the Federation—dictate behavior in the economy and which is deeply convinced that people do not produce goods and trade with them in order to ensure a better life for themselves, but only in order that "my" political interest and aim may overcome "yours."

Slovene Front Wants Independent State

AU1112113789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 89 p 6

[Stevan Petrovic report: "Invitation To Create an Independent Slovene State"]

[Excerpts] Maribor, 2 Dec—In the streets and other public places in Maribor, and probably in many other places in Slovenia, a small leaflet is being illegally distributed by the so-called Front for Independent Slovenia. The front of the leaflet bears the name of this organization and a drawing of Ljubljana dragon. The other side of the leaflet carries the message for the Slovene people. The message states, among other things, the following: "Citizens of this Republic (without the adjective socialist), the Slovene people have been trying to win their political independence for centuries. These efforts are already being realized today. Therefore, we state and announce the following: We want to form an independent Slovene state which will be a full member of the United Nations. We want a Slovene state which will be founded on a democratic political system."

This leaflet also states: "We want a Slovene army which will be a guarantor of the sovereignty to the Slovene people and state." The leaflet also demands social security for every Slovene, the development of culture and education without any ideological influence from the side, and so forth. In the conclusion the leaflet states that the Front for Independent Slovenia wants the state to be neutral in its policies and to cooperate with all other peoples on equal footing. Finally, it states that all this will be possible with the help and cooperation of all citizens of Slovenia.

We Must Win Freedom Ourselves

Beside the seal of the Front for Independent Slovenia is a potent motto: "Nobody will give us freedom as a present, we must win it ourselves." The leaflet was signed by the so-called Propaganda Department of the Front for Independent Slovenia.

Although this leaflet does not have anything in common with the current Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, in the formal sense, some of its parts irresistibly remind of some messages of the constitutional amendment recently adopted in this republic. It is very similar to the demands of the Slovene youth expressed at the recent congress held in Portoroz when this until recently sociopolitical organization of young people transformed itself into a political party with its own program.

At the same time, there has been much reaction here to the proclamation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia calling for the break of economic and all other ties with Slovenia. The reaction mostly came from the leaders of big work organizations. A few days ago, Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Executive Council of the Slovene Assembly, said, among other things, that this republic sells about 40 percent of its products in Yugoslavia. Today's issue of Maribor VECER writes, however, that only 15 percent of Slovene products are sold on the Yugoslav market and that the bulk of these goods are sold in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the economic blockade on Ljubljana Television last night, Joze Smole ironically said: "They have already tried to impose an economic blockade on two occasions. The first time this happened after the meeting in the Cankar Hall, the second time after the promulgation of constitutional amendments in this Republic. It did not work in either case, and this third blockade, following the ban on meetings in Ljubljana, will fail too."

Dailies on Dispute

AU1112091589

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 4 December on page 5 carries, on two-thirds of its page, reports on various Yugoslav newspapers' commentaries on the dispute between Serbia and Slovenia. No dates are given for the issues of these newspapers in which the commentaries have appeared, and all the commentaries except two are unattributed.

According to a 400-word review of a commentary in Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA, entitled "Political Blindness," the paper warns that "the Macedonian public is equally confused by the Slovene leadership's measures and the Serbian leadership's decision." Commenting on the state of relations in the country, NOVA MAKEDONIJA is reported as saying that "the divided and estranged political leaderships have substituted a democratic dialogue with ultimate pressures and threats, and while the federal leadership has remained a silent observer and unsuccessful arbiter unable to prevent the dramatic course of events. Its greatest responsibility is reflected in the lack of courage to publicly assess and condemn this kind of behavior and phenomena, and in the inconsistent application of available constitutional instruments."

NOVA MAKEDONIJA says: "The Macedonian public is confused equally by the measures of the Slovene leadership and by the decisions of the Serbian leadership. Concern and fear are creeping into the heart of every well-meaning citizen who loves our common motherland. The messages of the past are sufficiently eloquent on where political blindness and interethnic lunacy lead to."

It concludes: "It is high time for the Yugoslav political leadership to ask itself whether it is capable of controlling the situation in the country, and whether it has the authority to resolve interrepublican and interprovincial controversies and offer a program which will unite all Yugoslav, AVNOJ-oriented, and creative forces to find a way out of the present crisis and uncertainty."

A 200-word review of a commentary in NARODNE NOVINE, of unstated provenience, entitled "Country—Marked By Force," quotes the paper as writing: "A distinctive kind of bullying behavior by the Slovene state and party leaderships prevented the well intentioned 'southern brothers' in their attempt to convince in the old customary way—with bread and salt [symbols of hospitality]—the fraternal Slovene people that they want to share the good and bad with them in the present as well as in a much better Yugoslavia. These responded to bread and salt with saber rattling."

According to a 300-word review of a commentary in Ljubljana DNEVNIK, "Not All Cards Have Been Revealed Yet," the paper comments: "For many people the extremely vociferous reaction by the official representatives of the Socialist Republic of Serbia did not come as a surprise. When it became clear that the planned meeting will come to nothing, the official representatives of the Socialist Republic of Serbian launched a real campaign against Slovenia and in the course of only a few hours made many impudent insults unheard in this part of Europe."

DNEVNIK concludes: "Preventing the meeting in Ljubljana does not mean that the ideological fathers of that policy will change their tactics, at least for the time being. They again chose the tune directed at emotions: They are asking the citizens of their republic to break all relations with Slovenia they say that they will not beg the Slovenes to stay in Yugoslavia any more. This is a fairly transparent tactics which can cause many difficulties in the short run, but it is ultimately welcome. In this way we will quickly resolve certain accusations at the expense of Slovenia which by selling its products allegedly steals from other republics.

"Judging by some details, the producers of revolutions by rallies will be working on a new offensive in the course of the next few days. First they will turn their knives against both presidents, the president of the SFRY Presidency and the president of the Federal Executive Council, because allegedly they have, with their views, directly influenced the Slovene measures. Therefore, there is no winner, but there are many defeated, above in Serbia where people believe that Slovenia, despite being so small and so distant, is to be blamed for their problems."

A 380-word commentary in Ljubljana DELO by Tit Dobrsek under the title "Masks Taken Off" is quoted in full. It was texted from Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 1 December and filed as referent item.

A 300-word review of a commentary entitled "Transparent Intentions," in Zagreb VECERNJI LIST reads as follows:

"Between the emergence of the idea to hold a 'meeting of truth' in Ljubljana and its cancellation, so many other things with additional burden for internal relations in the country have happened, that the question is posed of how Yugoslavia is going to function from now on.

"What happened in the past few days has completely revealed that behind the 'meeting of truth' lie the ambitions of the ideology of the anti-bureaucratic revolution to spread its dominance all over Yugoslavia.

"The aims of the anti-bureaucratic march have been known for some time: one truth, monolithism, charismatic leader, political and national homogenization, and as a result of this, a transfer of resources, or, to put it simply, one cash box, held in their hands.

"The Slovene resoluteness has surprised many, most of all the organizers and ideologists of the march. The proof of this is the excessively nervous reaction by the Serbian leadership. Many Yugoslavs will reproach Slovenia for closing its borders, but one must bear in mind the fact that these very people had done nothing in order that the Yugoslav state could prevent the march which was not wanted by one of its sovereign nations.

"Cynicism and impudence with which the Kosovo and Novi Sad organizers of the march on Ljubljana addressed the public recently, as well as new threats and the Serbian leadership's alliance with them, lead toward a fresh dramatic aggravation of the situation in Yugoslavia. Will the 'revolution' temporarily turn its exports in other directions, toward Sarajevo and Zagreb, or to the destruction of legal federal organs and only then come to Ljubljana? It is hardly believable that, as the statement of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia points out, they are no longer interested in Slovenia."

According to a 300-word review of the commentary entitled "Retreat By Order," Titograd POBJEDA writes: "The first of December will be remembered in the Slovene history as one of the more shameful dates in the post war period. On that day, instead of a 'meeting of solidarity and truth,' which was supposed to directly inform the Slovene people about the troubles of Serbs and Montenegrins experienced through a decade long Kosovo drama, what happened were arrests.

"On that day, 13 people were deprived of their freedom in democratic Ljubljana. There was a real state of emergency which, however, applied only to non-Slovenes."

A 300-word review of the commentary entitled "Is There Any Sense?" cites Skopje VECER as saying: "Freedom and democracy are not defended at meetings, nor with emergency measures, police, and Alsatians on the republican borders, and even less with double standards and double morals.

"On the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] holiday two of our republics got into a quarrel. One of them chased away the other, declaring it a renegade and asking its citizens not to continue their ties with it and with its 'regime.' Was there no other solution? Did we need to desecrate the historic act of genuine association with daily political quarrels which have reached the insanity of dissociation?

"On the very day when we made a decision in Jajce 46 years ago to voluntarily unite, we decide to split. We split over what should in fact have made us even more united, over democracy and freedom.

"Have we in fact not created two asymmetric federations on the very holiday? One is Slovene, in which one unit is promoting and defending its ideas, and the other, Serbian, in which 'symmetry' is supposed to be absolute, founded on the most populous nation, its infallibility, and its great martyrdom as the only yardstick for shaping the federation." According to the review, VECER is also wondering as to who has empowered one or both of these nations and republics to insolently play with the fate of the whole country.

The text of a 300-review of the commentary "The Real (Legal) Face of the State," in Pristina JEDINSTVO reads as follows:

"When the political leadership of Slovenia allegedly found itself endangered, Slovenia urgently introduced special measures. When Yugoslavia came under attack, the Slovene leadership was absolutely against special measures in Kosovo.

"Whenever we think that the Slovene leadership cannot fall any lower, it proves us wrong again. The long lasting differences in terms of theory of ideology and politics and separation from the 'rest of Yugoslavia' have recently been constitutionally and legally molded and definitively rounded off.

"Why does a meeting bother the Slovene leadership so much if it is regarded as the most democratic form of communication between people? The fact that the meetings in Serbia preceded the meetings in the rest of the socialist world does not mean that everything that Serbia demanded was applicable to the rest of the world, but many things which the modern world strives for apply to Serbia.

"As much as it may sound unbelievable, the meeting of truth did take place in Ljubljana and Slovenia, because truth cannot be concealed with uniforms, nor can one hush up the phrases of politicians with 25 or 50 years of experience in politicking.

"How should one in fact interpret the alleged wish of Slovenia for a correct cooperation if rifles are pointed at thousands of well-intentioned people, if they are told that they will get poisoned sandwiches, and if their well-intentioned hand will simply be rejected? November of last year and March of this year illustrate best what kind of associates the Slovene leadership wanted, sought, supported, and helped among the people of Serbia. The grief for Azem Vlasi and the failed political leadership of Kosovo is not a human compassion for an erring comrade, but in fact a politicking showdown with the new Kosovo leadership."

The text of a 500-word report on Kemal Kuspahic commentary, "The Moment of (Bitter) Truth," from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE reads as follows:

"'The Slovenes' against 'the Serbs' and vice verse. Somebody has boiled the poisoned brew, somebody has set one nation against another through old euphoric quarrels in whose incandescence the sight of the real causes and motives has become blurred and completely lost. Instead of this, should one and must one not talk about facts only? The facts would show that there is no dispute here, and particularly no clash between the two peoples, and no need to exchange eve-of-the-war proclamations, but that there are very specific people and facts: the fact that on the one hand, the Kosovo Polje Committee for the Return of Expelled Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo announced its 'Meeting of Truth' in Ljubljana, and that the Slovene organs, under the Constitution responsible for public peace and order in the republic, have banned the meeting and threatened to use all legal means to enforce the ban.

"A ban on truth? Hardly, when one knows that the Kosovo Polje people were offered to tell the truth in the Slovene press and in radio and television casts, where arguments can be better heard and reach further than when tens of thousands of people shout.

"In addition, there was the statement by the SFRY Presidency, adopted last year and never rescinded, on the harm caused by such national gatherings anywhere in the country. Many things in the 'Meeting of Truth' announcements indicated a danger that it may deepen national confrontations: both by the mass opposition of the Slovene public expressed in newspaper and other polls to the holding of such a meeting, and by the preparations for mass participation at the meeting by people from other parts of the country. What 'truth about Kosovo' could be announced in street demonstrations by uninvited guests from Titograd and Niksic, from Banja Luka and Nevesinje, whose mass participation was discussed by the Kosovo Polje Committee?

"The Slovene official organs, from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs up to the assembly, were saying: Do not come. The Kosovo Polje committee was tenaciously repeating: We come for sure. It was a firm decision of a local committee against the sovereignty of a republic. And then followed that ban under the 'threat of force' and all that fierce reaction ranging all the way up to the call to break ties between the two republics. With all the consideration for their need to have truth about Kosovo heard all over the country, was this tenacity of the Kosovo Polje people to hold, at any price, their meeting, undesired by the Slovenes, really in place? And was the decision by the Slovene organs to prevent it at any price inevitable? The answers to these two questions cannot be searched for, and even less found, in an incandescent atmosphere. If luck was with us, and we had a law-governed state which we are invoking everywhere with such a frequency that its proper meaning is lost, the politicians would in such matters endeavor to create an atmosphere conducive to dialogue, to a confrontation of arguments, and to a search for a way out, instead of pushing us closer and closer against the wall."

Communist Monopoly Opposed

AU0612173589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Dec 89 p 1

[Slobodan Dukic report]

[Excerpt] Kula, Belgrade, 3 Dec—The wave of attacks on Slovenia because of the banned "Meeting of Truth" in Ljubljana continues with full force. Yesterday, the culmination was reached at the meeting in Kula, as well in Sipovo, where some 1,500 Sipovo people demanded, in addition to the resignation of Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, the resignation of their entire communal authorities because in their opinion they supported the Slovene political leadership. In connection with the latest development of events in the country, 30 Belgrade intellectuals issued a special petition in which they denounce the Serbian decision to break all relations with Slovenia.

"We will be able to begin to master the national and all other Yugoslav problems only when we abolish the monopoly of the Communist power and when parliamentary democracy will be established. Until then, problems are piling up, are aggravating, and lead us into a catastrophe." This is said in the joint statement by 30 Belgrade intellectuals in connection with the latest development of events in Yugoslavia.

The joint statement for public release, which we received from Milovan Djilas, who is one of the signatories, also says: "In the midst of the accelerated transformation of East Europe, when one country after another admits the defeat of its state system, based on the monopoly of the Communist Party, we are witnessing a completely different and in many respects opposite process.

"The ruling party, as split and disunited as it may be, preserves its common interest in all parts of the country, this interest being to retain its monopoly position, precisely as it is being abolished by all others, from Berlin to Sofia. Because the party authorities cannot properly settle any vital problem of this country, they resort to causing national disputes and aggravating the situation. These authorities, each in its preserve, try to retain the role of the representative and savior of the people, so as to avoid the establishment of a democratic system and to escape the risk of losing power at truly free elections. The political trials, as well as announced meeting, bans on travel and public gatherings, and finally the dramatic announcement on the break of relations between Serbia and Slovenia, they all have the same cause and the same goal.

"The Party has demonstrated that it is prepared to make the peoples in this state quarrel for good, to prevent their joining the European future, and to stop the natural, democratic, and economic transformation of society.

"We believe that the present Party authorities have no such right either in Serbia, or Slovenia, or anywhere else," it is said in the joint statement which was signed, apart from Milovan Djilas, also by Srdjan Popovic, Stojan Cerovic, Kosta Cavoski, Vesna Pesic, Lazar Stojanovic, Ivan Jankovic, Tanja Petovar, Slobodan Inic, Leon Kojen, Vladimir Gligorov, Filip David, Mirko Kovac, Milos Arsenijevic, Nikola Barovic, Koca Popovic, Lepa Perovic, Vladeta Jankovic, Zoran Gvarilovic, Aljosa Mimica, Mijalko Todorovic, Branko Vukicevic, Biljana Jovanovic, Velimir Stojnic, Svetlana Slapsak, Dragan Babic, Nebojsa Popov, Gojko Nikolis, Vojislav Kostunica, and Miodrag Milic. [passage omitted]

Public Debate on Slovene Amendments

LD0612033289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2240 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—The basic principles of the recently amended Constitution of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia greatly differ from those of the Federal Constitution of Yugoslavia so that it can be asked whether some of its regulations are contrary to the constitution of the country, Judge Milosav Stijovic, rapporteur for the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia assessed at a public debate today.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia will make its final assessment of the coordination between the Slovenian amendments and the Federal Constitution at its next session.

The amendment on the right of self-determination and secession especially stands out among the controversial amendments to the republican Constitution which were adopted by Slovenian parliament recently. The controversial amendments caused massive protests in southern parts of the country and Yugoslav parliament entrusted the Constitutional Court of the country to assess whether they are in compatibility with the Federal Constitution.

Stijovic pointed out the Slovenian amendment on the right to self-determination and secession as contrary to the federal Constitution, under which borders cannot be changed without previous agreement from all Yugoslavi republics and provinces.

Stijovic believes that the regulation under which Slovenia can decide about its secession unilaterally is insulting to the rights and duties of the federation and republics to secure the sovereignty and territorial entity of Yugoslavia.

The Slovenian amendment under which the authorized federal organ cannot declare a state of emergency on Slovenian territory without previous agreement from Slovenian parliament is also not in agreement with the Federal Constitution, the rapporteur said.

Ribicic Views Dispute

AU1112105189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Aim Revealed By Denouement"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Dec—The decision of the Slovene state organs to ban the meeting in Ljubljana was in order and there is nothing else to be added to this. The adoption of the decision was mainly influenced by the resoluteness of the Slovene public and the support expressed by the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and some other parts of Yugoslavia, as well as the support of the international democratic public. This was stated, among other things, by Dr Ciril Ribicic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia and one of the candidates for the president of the Slovene LC, taking part in the consultations among the secretaries of the basic LC organizations of the Ljubljana commune of Centar.

Ribicic placed the planned meeting among "numerous pressures to which Slovenia is subjected." He stressed that the consequences could have been much greater if the meeting had been held. He was of the opinion that the present denouement has demonstrated that the "aim of the meeting was not to present truth about Kosovo, and that its failure revealed the first cracks in the background, among the creators of the so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution." According to him, stopping the "expansion of meetings will necessarily lead toward sobering up, toward Serbian communists turning to the questions concerning internal failures in the economy, the election system...."

Stressing that the main aim of the attack on Slovenia is to destroy the Slovene democratic option of socialism, Ribicic assessed as "somewhat illogical" the fact that recently some circles equated Serbia and Slovenia as two equally bad extremes for Yugoslavia. This was done by those whom we regard as allies when it comes to the reform of the political and economic system, Ribicic said. Subsequently, he tried to explain what this was all about. Answering the question "Why is it not publicly said that Milosevic was the culprit for the situation in the country?" Ribicic said that "things were not that simple, but that for him personally Milosevic's co-responsibility was not disputable at all."

TANJUG on Debates

LD0712065189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0316 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—The rift between the Republics of Serbia and Slovenia was condemned in heated debates on nearly all levels in Yugoslavia today. The debates urged the two republics to continue talks, in the interest of the whole country.

The relations between the two republics were severed on November 29, when the Slovenian authorities decided to close the republican borders to prevent Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins from coming to Ljubljana to hold a rally at which they would tell the truth about the persecution by Albanian chauvinists and separatists. The Socialist Alliance of Serbia, in reply, issued an appeal to all institutions and firms in the republic to break off all ties with Slovenia.

Mutual interests should be of primary importance and no one has the right to close borders to others, either by the use of force or by economic blockades, said a session of the leadership of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia here today.

The debates in Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most developed republic, said that "those who urge the respect of human rights and freedoms, political pluralism and democracy and other civilizational achievements of Europe must themselves respect them."

At the same time, Yugoslavia's biggest republic of Serbia said that political dictation cannot regulate economic relations in the country.

While some said this was the most serious conflict since World War II, which is threatening to break Yugoslavia, others pointed out that it was in fact a conflict between two different concepts of the country's development in which the leaderships want to secure their positions before the adoption of the new Constitution.

Many forums said that the latest political crisis has shown the incompetence of federal organs and leaderships, and urged the holding of a referendum at which Yugoslavs would decide whether they are for a common country.

Many reproach Slovenia for allowing rallies of ethnic Albanians but not of Serbs and Montenegrins from the Province of Kosovo, and Serbia for using the problem of Kosovo as a way to achieve political goals.

So far, the Socialist Alliance of the Republic of Croatia was the only to defend Slovenia's decision as a legitimate act of the republican parliament. It regards the Serbian appeal as unacceptable.

The Yugoslav Conefederation of Trade Unions is against political dictation of economic relations, thus protecting the common market and the interests of the workers. The economic chamber of Serbia's other province of Vojvodina shares the trade union's views and condemns Slovenia's actions, describing them as an unconstitutional limitation of the freedom of movement.

However, the two quarreling republics are unyielding, each accusing the other of breaking Yugoslavia.

The Slovenian party and youth leaderships supported the decisions of their republican leadership.

Serbia agrees to normalize relations only on condition that Slovenia apologizes, stops supporting Albanian separatists and respects federal law.

Slovene Opposition Founded

LD0712231889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The Democratic Opposition of Slovenia (Demos) has been founded in Ljubljana. It includes the Slovene Democratic Alliance, Slovene Christian Democrats, and Slovene Social Democratic Alliance. Demos will jointly fight assembly elections next year. It will also be joined by the Slovene Peasants' Union. Other political organizations can join Demos provided they endorse the "89 May Declaration" and sign an agreement, it was announced in a public statement.

The Democratic Opposition of Slovenia has a joint electoral program based on the sovereignity of the state of Slovene people, parliamentary democracy, and respect for human rights and freedoms. Dr Joze Pucnik was elected first president of the Demos Presidium.

On the occasion of the formation of Demos, the United Slovene Opposition, in its first public statement, demands among other things that "Slovenia should respond to pressures exercized upon it following a ban on the Ljubljana meeting. In view of the present interlinking of the economic and cultural life, it is a complete nonsense to ask for an economic boycott of Serbia or demand that associations and various autonomous organizations break their links with Serbia", points out the United Slovene Opposition and continues: "Without ambiguity, the statement by the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People on breaking relations with Slovene organizations indicates the intention of Serbia as a state to break all ties with Slovenia. Because of this Demos demands that all state organs of Slovenia should affirm the principle of reciprocity and break all relations with Serbian state organs... Let Serbia think this through and change its attitude towards Slovenia."

Demos also states that "it is high time that in Slovenia, amendments on assuring the right to self-determination should start being implemented immediately. In the sense of the 1989 May Declaration, it is necessary to affirm Slovene sovereignty by introducing confederal elements in relations between Slovenia and federation and other federal units. This should be done with the establishment of a legal system independent from the federation and the affirmation of the full responsibility of Slovenia for its security, legal order, and defense, the strengthening of economic independence from the measures of federal policy, and by implementing the need to unilaterally reduce Slovene obligations towards the federation and underdeveloped regions", it is said in a statement by the United Slovene Opposition.

Serbian LC CC Demands Apology

LD0812232589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2118 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, December 8 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia on Friday noted that the authorities of Slovenia have brutally violated human rights and freedoms by closing its border to prevent a public rally scheduled for December 1 in Ljubljana.

Over 50,000 Serbs and Montenegrins had earlier announced they would hold the "rally of truth" on that day in Slovenia's capital, to protest against Slovenian authorities' support to Albanian separatists in the southern province of Kosovo.

Despite the ban on the rally, a small group of people reached Ljubljana and were dispersed by police.

Ethnic Albanians staged anti-Yugoslav demonstrations in the city several weeks earlier.

After the closing of Slovenia's border, the Serbian Socialist Alliance leadership called on the enterprises and institutions in Serbia to sever all ties with Slovenia.

In Serbia, the call has been explained as a reaction to violations of the Yugoslav Constitution and human rights and to Slovenia's longstanding open support and encouragement to Albanian nationalists and separatists, under whose pressure about 45,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of Kosovo since 1981.

The Serbian party leadership today described the measures of the Slovenian authorities as an expression of separatist and conservative policy, aimed at keeping economic and political monopoly, halting reforms and changing relations within the Yugoslav federation.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia added that the relations could only be normalized if Slovenia apologized for insulting human dignity, changed its attitude towards the Kosovo problem and started respecting the Constitution of Yugoslavia.

'Several Thousand' Protest in Pec

LD0912150889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Pec, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—At today's protest meeting, several thousand working people and citizens of Pec expressed profound dissatisfaction with the recent decision by the Slovene authorities concerning the removal, by repressive measures, of basic human rights and freedoms of Serbian and Montenegrin people in Ljubljana, as well as with the general political-security situation in Yugoslavia and Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Protest Meeting in Bosanska Gradiska

LD0912145389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Summary] Bosanska Gradiska, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—A protest meeting was held this afternoon in Bosanska Gradiska municipality and was attended by about 5,000 citizens from the region. The meeting was to condemn all those who want to alter the borders of Yugoslavia, cause dissension among its peoples, and restrict freedom of movement.

Croatia Sides With Slovenia

LD1112110389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2224 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 10 (TANJUG)—The leadership of Croatia on Sunday sides with neighbouring Slovenia in its dispute with the most populous republic Serbia, which culminated in a break of Serbian-Slovenian ties ten days ago.

The leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia met in Zagreb and assessed the Serbian political leadership's attitude as unacceptable and as threatening the country's economic development and implementation of initiated reforms.

Relations between the two republics were severed after Slovenia declared emergency conditions on its territory on December 1 and closed its border, thus preventing the arrival of about 50,000 people from Serbia to Ljubljana for a scheduled protest rally in the Slovenian capital.

The Serbian leadership, accusing the Slovenian for some time of backing Albanian separatists in Serbia's Kosovo Province, responded with a call for economic blockade of Slovenia.

The leaderships of Croatia and Slovenia today agreed that the measures announced by Serbia should be prevented through a well- argumented dialogue.

The two republics had accepted the Yugoslav state leadership's initiative to try and stop further destabilization of the country through direct talks between Serbia and Slovenia.

A statement from today's meeting did not mention the Croatian leadership's attitude to the closing of the Slovenian border, which was described by Serbia as an act violating the Constitution and human rights.

The majority in other parts of the country, however, hold that both parties to the dispute are violating the letter and spirit of the Constitution and contributing towards further worsening of the already bad interethnic relations in Yugoslavia.

New Kosovo Government Members Sworn in 9 Dec

LD1012005489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Summary] Pristina, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Members of the new Assembly Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo were formally sworn in today. They are:

Jusuf Zejnulahu, president

Djordje Aksic, vice-president

Mazlum Beca, vice-president

Slobodan Bojic, provincial secretary for national defense

Jusuf Karakusi, provincial secretary for internal affairs

Seljadin Skeja, provincial secretary for transport and communications

Isa Mustafa, provincial secretary for the development of science, information technology and technical cooperation

Rifat Zulfiju, provincial secretary for justice

Sevcet Cana, hprovincial secretary for finance

Radman Milosavljevic provincial secretary for the economy

Lek Berisa, provincial secretary for agriculture and forestry

Muhamed Bicaj, provincial secretary for education and culture

Lek Vuksani, provincial secretary for health, social policy, and questions concerning veterans and the disabled

Radovan Vujovic, provincial secretary for urban issues, and housing and communal activity

Three members of the government—Tomislav Sekulic, Rasida Muhovic, and Redzep Hadzimusa—are without portfolio.

Assembly Body Deems Kosovo Measures 'Justifiable'

AU0512201089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] The imposition of special measures in Kosovo was necessary and justifiable. This has been confirmed by strikes and demonstrations that Albanian separatists and nationalists held at the end of last year and this year which attacked Yugoslavia's constitutional setup, integrity, and sovereignty. This is the essence of the stances on the imposition of special measures in Kosovo adopted at the session of the SFRY Assembly Internal Policy Committee.

Only two of these special measures, which have also yielded some positive results, are still in force: the decision on banning rallies held for the purpose of demonstrating and the decision on imposing the obligation to work in certain collectives. Additional activity is needed in order to curb the counterrevolution, because in the coming period of time one can expect nationalists and separatists to carry out new extremist, diversionary, and terrorist actions.

It is demanded in Kosovo that certain parts of Yugoslavia, and particularly Slovenia and Croatia, should refrain from activities that can encourage or provoke Albanian nationalists, whose activities are particularly pronounced in some cities in these republics. What is involved are protest meetings against Serb and Kosovo leaderships, petitions advocating the abrogation of Azem Vlasi's trial, and demands to abolish special measures in Kosovo, it was concluded at the session of the SFRY Assembly Internal Policy Committee.